



*E. Vash*  
*14<sup>2</sup> 1800/00*

~~STANHOPE~~

*17572/B*

CHESTERFIELD

*Vol 1 only*

*C. Vash*













THE

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L I F E

OF THE LATE

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD:

OR, THE

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MAN OF THE WORLD.

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1823  
1695

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THE  
*L* I F E  
OF THE LATE  
EARL of CHESTERFIELD:  
*Stanhope*  
OR, THE  
MAN OF THE WORLD.

INCLUDING  
His LORDSHIP'S principal SPEECHES in  
PARLIAMENT; his most admired ESSAYS  
in the Paper called THE WORLD; his  
POEMS; and the Substance of the SYSTEM  
of EDUCATION

DELIVERED IN A  
SERIES OF LETTERS TO HIS SON.

VOL. I.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for J. BEW, in Paternoster-Row.

MDCCCLXXIV.





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## INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE influence of example is universally allowed to be superior to that of precept: the Lives of eminent men, therefore, have in all ages been considered, as the most effectual means of instruction; and they are certainly the most pleasing. It is to be lamented, however, that the men whose actions have been the most faithfully, and the most eloquently related, have often been the least proper for imitation; or have been placed in circumstances  
which

which seldom occur in the ruin of human affairs. Happily neither of these objections can lie against this performance. The virtues and talents of the earl of Chesterfield were equally conspicuous ; his accomplishments were unrivalled ; and his situations were those which are of most importance to the welfare of these kingdoms. A British senator ; a foreign envoy ; a secretary of state ; a lord lieutenant of Ireland ; a private nobleman ; a scholar ; a man of taste, and a man of fashion, are characters which he filled with equal ease, propriety, and dignity. At once the man of genius, business, and elegance, he truly deserved that epithet, of which he was so fond, and which he so often repeats  
in

in his Letters to his Son, the *omnis homo*, or *all-accomplished* Chesterfield.

Well therefore might the poet say,

“ O thou, whose wisdom, solid yet refin’d,  
 Whose patriot-virtues and consummate skill  
 To touch the finer springs that move the world,  
 Join’d to whate’er the graces can bestow,  
 And all Apollo’s animating fire,  
 Give thee with pleasing dignity to shine  
 At once the guardian, ornament, and joy  
 Of polish’d life ;—permit the rural Muse,  
 O Chesterfield ! to grace with thee her song ;  
 Ere to the shades again she humbly flies,  
 Indulge her fond ambition in thy train,  
 (For every Muse has in thy train a place)  
 To mark thy various full-accomplish’d mind :  
 To mark that spirit, which, with British scorn,  
 Rejects th’ allurements of corrupted power ;  
 That elegant politeness which excels  
 Even in the judgment of presumptuous France,  
 The boasted manners of her shining court ;  
 That wit, the vivid energy of sense,  
 The truth of nature, which with Attic point,  
 And kind well-tempered satire, smoothly keen,  
 Steals through the soul, and without pain corrects.  
 Or, rising thence, with yet a brighter flame,  
 O let me hail thee on some glorious day,  
 When to the listening senate ardent crowd



Britannia's sons to hear her pleaded cause !  
 Then dress'd by thee, more amiably fair,  
 Truth the soft robe of mild persuasion wears :  
 Thou to assenting reason givest again  
 Her own enlighten'd thoughts ; call'd from the  
     heart,  
 Th' obedient passions on thy voice attend ;  
 And e'en reluctant party feels a while  
 Thy gracious pow'r ! as through the varied maze  
 Of Eloquence, now smooth, now quick, now  
     strong,  
 Profound and clear, you roll the copious flood."

THOMSON.

He was indeed, what he attempt-  
 ed to form his son, and what this  
 work is intended to exemplify, in  
 the Life and Writings of the father,  
 the complete MAN of the WORLD.

THE

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THE  
MAN of the WORLD;  
OR, THE  
LIFE OF THE LATE  
Earl of CHESTERFIELD.

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CHAP. I.

*His Lordship's Birth, and his Progress in  
Letters and Politeness.*

**P**HILIP DORMER STANHOPE, earl of Chesterfield, was born on the twenty-second day of September, in the year One thousand six hundred and ninety-five. His father, Philip the third earl of Chesterfield, was descended by his mother from the family of Caernarvon; hence the name DORMER: and his own mother, lady Elizabeth Savil, was daughter and coheir to George marquis of Halifax.

Several other circumstances conspired to offer this young nobleman as fair a prospect as any person of his rank and fortune could desire; and he did not fail to improve them. His family had distinguished itself in the cause of king Charles I. it had been instrumental in bringing about the Restoration; and his grandfather had enjoyed several posts of honour under king Charles II. but he had happily renounced all connexion with the court a considerable time before the Revolution: the road to political eminence was therefore open.

The broad licentiousness of the cavaliers, and the sanctified rudeness of the puritans, had now both received some polish. Manners began to be understood. A good taste in letters was beginning to dawn. Learning was the fashion; and the chief nobility encouraged it, equally by example and patronage. It was not yet dishonourable for a nobleman to be a scholar. Young Stanhope was soon an expert one; and, if we may believe himself, somewhat of a pedant.

“My first prejudice,” says he, “was my classical enthusiasm, which I received from the books I read, and the masters who explained them to me. I was convinced there had been no common sense or



common honesty in the world for these last fifteen hundred years; but that they were totally extinguished with the ancient Greek and Roman governments. Homer and Virgil could have no faults, because they were ancient; Milton and Tasso could have no merit, because they were modern. And I could almost have said with regard to the ancients, what Cicero, very absurdly and unbecomingly for a philosopher, says with regard to Plato, *Cum quo errare malim quam cum aliis rectè sentire.*"

This was the fault of his age. The ancients were then looked upon as the inviolable standards of fine writing and just thinking. Their very errors were idolized. But his lordship's mind was too liberal to be long fettered by such a prejudice.

"Whereas I have now discovered," continues he, (alluding to what he had formerly said) "that nature was the same three thousand years ago, as it is at present; that men were but men then as well as now; that modes and customs vary often, but that human nature is always the same. And I can no more suppose, that men were better, braver, or wiser, fifteen hundred or three thousand years ago, than I can suppose that the animals and vegetables were better then, than they are now."

In another letter he is more particular on the subject of pedantry; its effects upon his manners; and how he got free from it.

“ At nineteen,” says he, “ I left the university of Cambridge, where I was an absolute pedant: when I talked my best, I quoted Horace; when I aimed at being facetious, I quoted Martial; and when I had a mind to be a fine gentleman, I talked Ovid. I was convinced that none but the ancients had common sense; that the classics contained every thing that was either necessary, useful, or ornamental to men; and I was not without thoughts of wearing the *toga virilis* of the Romans, instead of the vulgar and illiberal dress of the moderns.

“ With these excellent notions, I went first to the Hague, where, by the help of several letters of recommendation, I was soon introduced into all the best company; and where I very soon discovered, that I was totally mistaken in almost every one notion I had entertained. Fortunately, I had a strong desire to please (the mixed result of good nature, and a vanity by no means blameable) and was sensible, that I had nothing but the desire. I therefore resolved, if possible, to acquire the means too. I studied attentively and minutely the

the dress, the air, the manner, the address, and the turn of conversation of all those whom I found to be the people in fashion, and most generally allowed to please. I imitated them as well as I could: if I heard that one man was reckoned remarkably genteel, I carefully watched his dress, motions, and attitudes, and formed my own upon them. When I heard of another, whose conversation was agreeable and engaging, I listened and attended to the turn of it. I addressed myself, though *de très mauvaise grace*, to all the most fashionable fine ladies; confessed, and laughed with them at my own awkwardness and rawness, recommending myself as an object for them to try their skill in forming.

“ By these means, and with a passionate desire of pleasing every body, I came by degrees to please some; and, I can assure you, [his son] that what little figure I have made in the world, has been much more owing to that passionate desire I had of pleasing universally, than to any intrinsic merit, or sound knowledge I might ever have been master of. My passion for pleasing was so strong (and I am very glad it was so) that I own to you fairly, I wished to make every woman I saw, in love with me, and every man I met with, admire me. Without this pas-

sion for the object, I should never have been so attentive to the means; and I own I cannot conceive how it is possible for any man of good nature and good sense to be without this passion. Does not good nature incline us to please all those we converse with, of whatever rank or station they may be? And does not good sense, and common observation, show of what infinite use it is to please? ‘Oh! but one may please by the good qualities of the heart, and the knowledge of the head, without that fashionable air, address, and manner, which is mere tinsel.’ I deny it. A man may be esteemed and respected, but I defy him to please without them.”

In a third letter, he gives a still more minute account of his literary awkwardness: and, what will hardly be credited by those who have seen him only in his riper years, of his sheepish bashfulness; which he illustrates by an entertaining anecdote.

After having told his son, that though good sense can only give him the outlines or good breeding, observation and usage must give him the delicate touches, and the fine colouring, he proceeds thus: —“I remember,” says he, in his easy familiar way, “that when, with all the awkwardness and rust of Cambridge about me,



me, I was first introduced into good company, I was frightened out of my wits. I was determined to be, what I thought, civil; I made fine low bows, and placed myself below every body; but when I was spoken to, or attempted to speak myself, *obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit*. If I saw people whisper, I was sure it was at me; and I thought myself the sole object, of either the ridicule or the censure of the whole company: who, God knows, did not trouble their heads about me.

“ In this way I suffered, for some time, like a criminal at the bar; and should certainly have renounced all polite company for ever, if I had not been so convinced of the absolute necessity of forming my manners upon those of the best companies, that I determined to persevere, and suffer any thing, or every thing, rather than not compass that point. Insensibly it grew easier to me; and I began not to bow so ridiculously low, and to answer questions without great hesitation or stammering: if, now and then, some charitable people, seeing my embarrassment, and being *désœuvré* themselves, came and spoke to me, I considered them as angels sent to comfort me; and that gave me a little courage.

“ I got more soon afterwards, and was intrepid enough to go up to a fine woman, and tell her that I thought it a warm day ; she answered me, very civilly, that she thought so too ; upon which the conversation ceased, on my part, for some time, till she, good-naturedly resuming it, spoke to me thus : ‘ I see your embarrassment, and I am sure that the few words you said to me, cost you a great deal ; but do not be discouraged for that reason, and avoid good company. We see that you desire to please, and that is the main point ; you want only the manner, and you think that you want it still more than you do. You must go through your noviciate before you can profess good-breeding ; and if you will be my Novice, I will present you to my acquaintance as such.’

“ You will easily imagine how much this speech pleased me, and how awkwardly I answered it ; I hemm’d once or twice (for it gave me a bur in my throat) before I could tell her, that I was very much obliged to her ; that it was true, that I had a great deal of reason to distrust my own behaviour, not being used to fine company ; and that I should be proud of being her Novice, and receiving her instructions. As soon as I had fumbled out  
this

this answer, she called up three or four people to her, and said, *Sçavez vous*, &c. (for she was a foreigner, and I was abroad) ‘Do you know that I have undertaken this young man, and he must be encouraged?—You will assist me in polishing him.—As for me, I believe I have made a conquest of him; for he just now ventured to tell me, though tremblingly, that it is warm. He must necessarily have a passion for somebody; and if he does not think me worthy of it, we will find him another. But happen what may, my Novice, do not disgrace yourself by frequenting opera girls and actresses; who will spare you the expence of sentiment and politeness, but will cost you more in every other respect. I repeat it, my friend, if you herd with such creatures, you will be undone. They will destroy both your fortune and your health, corrupt your manners, and prevent you from ever acquiring the stile of good company.’

“The company laughed at this lecture, and I was stunned with it. I did not know whether she was serious or in jest. By turns I was pleased, ashamed, encouraged, and dejected. But when I found, afterwards, that both she, and those to whom she had presented me, countenanced and protected me in company, I gradually got

more assurance, and began not to be ashamed of endeavouring to be civil. I copied the best masters, at first servilely, afterwards more freely, and at last, I joined habit and invention."

This desire of pleasing, mingled with a certain share of vanity, to which he professes himself a friend, soon procured him, as he himself informs us, a considerable eminence in the polite world. His own words only can do justice to his sentiments.

"Vanity, or to call it by a gentler name, the desire of admiration and applause, is, perhaps," says he, "the most universal principle of human actions; I do not say that it is the best; and I will own, that it is sometimes the cause of both foolish and criminal effects. But it is so much oftener the principle of right things, that, though they ought to have a better, yet, considering human nature, that principle is to be encouraged and cherished, in consideration of its effects. Where that desire is wanting, we are apt to be indifferent, listless, indolent, and inert; we do not exert our powers; and we appear to be as much below ourselves, as the vainest man living can desire to appear above what he really is.

"As



“ As I have made you my (his son) confessor, and do not scruple to confess even my weakneses to you, I will fairly own, that I had that vanity, that weakness, if it be one, to a prodigious degree; and, what is more, I confess it without repentance; nay, I am glad I had it; since, if I have had the good fortune to please in the world, it is to that powerful and active principle that I owe it.

“ I began the world, not with a bare desire, but with an insatiable thirst, a rage of popularity, applause, and admiration. If this made me do some silly things, on one hand, it made me, on the other hand, do almost all the right things that I did: it made me attentive and civil to the women I disliked, and to the men I despised, in hopes of the applause of both; though I neither desired, nor would I have accepted the favours of the one, nor the friendship of the other.

“ I always dressed, looked, and talked my best; and, I own, was overjoyed whenever I perceived that by all three, or by any one of them, the company was pleased with me. To men, I talked whatever I thought would give them the best opinion of my parts and learning; and, to women, what I was sure would please them; flattery, gallantry, and  
B 6
love.

love. And moreover I will own to you, under the secrecy of confession, that my vanity has very often made me take great pains to make many a woman in love with me, if I could, for whose person I would not have given a pinch of snuff.

“ In company with men, I always endeavoured to out-shine, or, at least, if possible, to equal the most shining man in it. This desire elicited whatever powers I had to gratify it; and where I could not perhaps shine in the first, enabled me, at least, to shine in a second or third sphere. By these means I soon grew in fashion; and when a man is once in fashion, all he does is right.

“ It was infinite pleasure to me, to find my own fashion and popularity. I was sent for to all parties of pleasure, both of men and women; where, in some measure, I gave the ton. This gave me the reputation of having had some women of condition; and that reputation, whether true or false, really got me others. With the men I was a Proteus, and assumed every shape, in order to please them all: among the gay, I was the gayest, among the grave, the gravest; and I never omitted the least attentions of good-breeding, or the least offices of friendship, that could either  
please,

please, or attach them to me ;—and, accordingly, I was soon connected with all the men of any fashion or figure in town.”

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## C H A P. II.

*His Lordship's Rise in Parliament. He is made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber—Succeeds to the Peerage—Is made Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard—Is sworn of the Privy Council—Is sent Ambassador to the Hague—Is chosen a Knight of the Garter—Is appointed Lord Steward of the Household—And resigns.*

**T**HUS accomplished, as a gentleman and a scholar, his lordship's next ambition was, to figure as a statesman and an orator ; and he succeeded in both. The same attention to pleasing, which distinguished him in the polite world, made him eminent in the political. A desire of shining made him shine.

He was elected a member for the borough of St. Germain, in the first parliament of George I. and, he tells us himself, that he spoke in parliament the first month he was in it, and a month before

before he was of age. The speech, he observes, was but indifferent, as to the *matter*, but passed tolerably, in favour of the *spirit* with which he *uttered* it, and the *words* in which it was *dressed*.

There his lordship's fort lay : language and address were always at his command ; and experience proves that he was not wrong in laying so much stress on them. His sentiments never changed on this subject.

“ Think,” says he to his son, “ night and day, of the turn, the purity, the correctness, the perspicuity, and the elegance, of whatever you speak or write : take my word for it, your labour will not be in vain, but greatly rewarded by the harvest of praise and success which it will bring you. Delicacy of turn, and elegance of style, are ornaments as necessary to common sense, as attentions, address, and fashionable manners, are to common civility ; both may subsist without them, but then, without being of the least use to the owner. The figure of a man is exactly the same, in dirty rags, or in the finest and best-chosen clothes ; but in which of the two he is the most likely to please, and to be received in good company, I leave to you to determine.

“ The



“The House of Commons,” adds he, “is the theatre where you must make your fortune and figure in the world, you must resolve to be an actor, and not a *persona muta*, which is just equivalent to a candle-snuffer upon other theatres. Whoever does not shine there is obscure, insignificant, and contemptible; and you cannot conceive how easy it is, for a man of half your sense and knowledge, to shine there if he pleases. The receipt to make a speaker, and an applauded one too, is short and easy. Take of common sense *quantum sufficit*, add a little application to the rules and orders of the house, throw obvious thoughts in a new light, and make up the whole with a large quantity of purity, correctness, and elegance of style. Take it for granted, that by far the greatest part of mankind do neither analyse nor search to the bottom; they are incapable of penetrating deeper than the surface. All have senses to be gratified, very few have reason to be applied to. Graceful utterance and action pleases their eyes, elegant diction tickles their ears; but strong reason would be thrown away upon them.

“I am not only persuaded by theory, but convinced by my experience, that (supposing a certain degree of common sense)

senſe) what is called a good ſpeaker, is as much a mechanic, as a good ſhoe-maker ; and that the two trades are equally to be learned by the ſame degree of application. Therefore, for God's ſake, let this trade be the principal object of your thoughts ; never loſe ſight of it. Attend minutely to your ſtyle, whatever language you ſpeak or write in ; ſeek for the beſt words, and think of the beſt turns. Whenever you doubt of the propriety or elegance of any word, ſearch the dictionary, or ſome good author for it, or inquire of ſomebody, who is maſter of that language ; and in a little time, propriety and elegance of diſtion will become ſo habitual to you, that they will coſt you no more trouble.

“ As I have laid this down to be mechanical, and attainable by whoever will take the neceſſary pains, there will be no great vanity in my ſaying, that I ſaw the importance of the object ſo early, and attended to it ſo young, that it would now coſt me more trouble to ſpeak or write ungrammatically, vulgarly, and inelegantly, than ever it did to avoid doing ſo. The late Lord Bolingbroke, without the leaſt trouble, talked all day long, full as elegantly as he wrote : Why ? Not by a peculiar gift from heaven ; but, as he

he has often told me himself, by an early and constant attention to his style. The present Solicitor-general, Murray, [now Lord Mansfield] has less law than many lawyers, but has more practice than any; merely upon account of his eloquence, of which he has a never-failing stream.

“ I remember, so long ago as when I was at Cambridge, whenever I read pieces of eloquence (and indeed they were my chief study) whether ancient or modern, I used to write down the shining passages, and then translate them, as well and as elegantly as ever I could; if Latin or French, into English; if English, into French. This, which I practised for some years, not only improved and formed my style, but imprinted in my mind and memory the best thoughts of the best authors. The trouble was little, but the advantage, I have experienced, was great. While you are abroad, you can neither have time nor opportunity to read pieces of English, or Parliamentary eloquence, as I hope you will carefully do when you return; but, in the mean time, whenever pieces of French eloquence come in your way, such as the speeches of persons received into the Academy, *oraisons funé- bres*, representations of the several Parliaments to the King, &c. read them in  
that

that view, in that spirit; observe the harmony, the turn and elegance, of the style; examine in what you think it might have been better; and consider in what, had you written it yourself, you might have done worse. Compare the different manners of expressing the same thoughts, in different authors; and observe how differently the same things appear in different dresses. Vulgar, coarse, and ill-chosen words, will deform and degrade the best thoughts, as much as rags and dirt will the best figure.

“ I resolved within myself,” continues he, “ that I would in all events be a speaker in Parliament, and a good one too, if I could. I consequently never lost sight of that object, and never neglected any of the means that I thought led to it. I succeeded to a certain degree; and, I assure you, with great ease, and without superior talents.”

The observations that follow are worthy of Rochefoucault.

“ Young people are very apt to over-rate both men and things, from not being enough acquainted with them. In proportion as you come to know them better, you will value them less. You will find that reason, which always ought to direct mankind, seldom does; but that



that passions and weakneſſes commonly uſurp its ſeat, and rule in its ſtead. You will find, that the ableſt have their weak ſides too, and are only comparatively able, with regard to the ſtill weaker herd : having fewer weakneſſes themſelves, they are able to avail themſelves of the innumerable ones of the generality of mankind : being more maſters of themſelves, they become more eaſily maſters of others. They addreſs themſelves to their weakneſſes, their ſenſes, their paſſions, never to their reaſon, and conſequently ſeldom fail of ſucceſs.

“ To govern mankind, one muſt not over-rate them ; and to pleaſe an audience, as a ſpeaker, one muſt not over-value it.

“ When I firſt came into the Houſe of Commons, I reſpected that aſſembly as a venerable one ; and felt a certain awe upon me : but, upon better acquaintance, that awe ſoon vaniſhed ; and I diſcovered, that, of the five hundred and ſixty, not above thirty could underſtand reaſon, and that all the reſt were *peuple* : that thoſe thirty-only required plain common ſenſe, dreſſed up in good language ; and that all the others only required flowing and harmonious periods, whether they conveyed any meaning or not ;

not ; having ears to hear, but not sense enough to judge." His lordship has not surely here over-rated the House of Commons.

" These considerations," observes he, " made me speak with little concern the first time, with less the second, and with none at all the third. I gave myself no farther trouble about any thing, except my *elocution* and my *style* ; presuming, without much vanity, that I had common sense sufficient not to talk nonsense."

He was elected a member for Lefwithiel, in the parliament summoned in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one ; which borough he continued to represent till he succeeded to the peerage, in January one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six. Before this time, he was captain of the yeomen of the guard, and one of the lords of the bedchamber to his late majesty George II. then prince of Wales ; and, when that prince ascended the throne, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, he was not only continued in his employments, but admitted into the privy council.

Soon after the accession of George II. (some changes having taken place in the ministry) the earl of Chesterfield was appointed

appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General; and, on the twenty-third day of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight, he set out for the Hague, where he distinguished himself by the ability and integrity of his conduct; by the elegance and politeness of his address; by the gaiety and sprightliness of his conversation; and by living with a state and magnificence that did honour to his country.

His Lordship continued at the Hague till the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty; when, returning to England, he was chosen a knight of the garter, at a chapter of that most noble order held at St James's, on the eighteenth of May, in the same year; and, on the eighteenth of June following, he was installed at Windsor, along with the late duke of Cumberland and the earl of Burlington; the Sovereign and his royal highness the prince of Wales honouring the solemnity with their presence. He was appointed Lord high Steward of his majesty's household the day after; and, in a short time, he returned on his embassy to the Hague.

But public measures were now conducted so iniquitously at home, and so little

little encouragement was given to act with spirit abroad, that his lordship was ashamed of being employed by such a ministry: he therefore returned to England in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two; and, seeing no appearance of things growing better, he resigned his place of Lord Steward of the Household, in April one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three, and renounced all connections with the court.

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### C H A P. III.

*His Lordship's patriotic Conduct after his Resignation, and his most remarkable Speeches from the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-three, to the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-five.*

THE earl of Chesterfield's political character, and in a great measure his capacity, only now began to be known. He had hitherto supported the measures of the court, without perhaps sufficiently considering how far they were equitable; but henceforth he acted the part of an intelligent, upright, and independent citizen of a free kingdom: swayed only by the

the dictates of his head, and the impulse of his heart; he was always ready to espouse good measures, and oppose bad ones, or what to him appeared such, unseduced by party, and unawed by power.

In support of this character, it will be proper to take a view of his lordship's political conduct, which happily forms his most eloquent panegyric. Immediately after his resignation, he displayed himself, as an orator and a patriot, in a spirited speech against misapplying the produce of the sinking fund; and, as he saw the influence of the crown increasing, he formally associated himself with the opposition, making every possible attempt to stem the tide of corruption, and preserve the liberties of the subject.

In February one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four, the duke of Marlborough presented a bill to the House of Lords, "for the better securing the constitution, by preventing the officers of the army from being deprived of their commissions otherwise than by the judgment of a court martial, or by address of either House of Parliament."

This bill was occasioned by several officers of character having been deprived of their commissions, without any better reason being assigned for so doing, than  
the



the will of the prince, or of his minion. After it had been read once, and a motion had been made for a second reading, no lord stood up to speak either for or against the bill ; but some called for the question : and, when the question was just going to be put, the earl of Chesterfield rose, and said, “ My Lords, as there seems to be some of your lordships against the second reading of this bill, I am surprized to hear the question so much insisted on, before any lord who is against a second reading has given a single reason for his being so.

“ If any motion is made, or bill presented to this House, were it an affair of no consequence, yet it is a respect due to the noble lord who makes the motion, or presents the bill, not to put a negative upon it without giving some reasons for so doing ; but, in the present case, it cannot be pretended that the bill presented is not an affair of consequence : it is, in my opinion, not only a good but a necessary bill ; and the noble duke has given so strong reasons for passing it, that I hope your lordships will not so much as endeavour to put a negative upon it, without first giving some sort of reason for what you are about to do.”

Lord

Lord Hervey now rose up and spoke against the bill. He was seconded by the duke of Newcastle, and a warm debate ensued. The earl of Chesterfield spoke thus :

“ It has been said that this bill is a direct attack upon the prerogative, and that it is designed for destroying, or at least diminishing, the power of the crown ; but, my lords, if what is proposed in this bill be duly considered, it will appear to be neither an attack upon the prerogative, nor so much as a diminution of the power of the crown. There is no power to be taken from the crown, but that power which the crown ought never to make use of. It is certain that the crown ought never to take an officer's commission from him, but for some very sufficient reason, and upon a full proof of the facts alledged against him : and therefore all that is proposed by this bill, is only a method by which the crown may get such an information, as to the facts alledged, as may be depended on ; by which the crown may be secured against impositions, and the officers against private misrepresentations and false accusations. It is meant, my lords, to prevent the king's being led into the doing a piece of the highest injustice to  
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a faithful foldier, and to prevent a good and brave officer from being whifpered out of his commiffion, and reduced to a ftarving condition for no crime ; perhaps for a piece of behaviour for which he ought to be highly rewarded. Can this, my lords, be called an invafion of the rights of the crown ? Is it not plainly grounded upon that fundamental maxim of our conftitution, which fays, That a king of England fhall have it in his power to do as much good as he pleafes, but fhall not have it in his power to do wrong ?

“ The objection as to general officers is likewise, my lords, founded upon a miftake ; for, if the noble lords had attended to the firft reading of the bill, they muft have known, that with refpect to general officers, the power of the crown is to remain as before. The regulation propofed is to extend no higher than colonels of regiments ; and furely the continuing of the moft defigning, and the moft daring men, in the command of a regiment for two or three months, after a difcovery of his wicked defigns, could be of no dangerous confequence ; even though the continuing him for that time were by this bill to be made neceffary. But that is not the  
case ;

case; which leads me to consider another mistake, from which an argument hath been drawn, and much insisted on by some of the noble lords who spoke against the bill.

“ The Pretender, my lords, I find is to be lugged into this question, as he has been into some others, in which he had very little to do; and the danger the nation lies exposed to from him, is made an argument for our not taking that care of our liberties and constitution which we ought. But the lords who make use of this argument seem not to take notice, that the king is still to retain the power of suspending and putting under an arrest any officer, or number of officers, he pleases, and at whatever time or times he shall think proper; if the least discovery therefore should be made, that any officer or officers were drawn into a plot in favour of the Pretender, or any other plot against his majesty's person and government, could not his majesty immediately suspend all such officers from their commands? Could not he immediately lay them all under arrest? nay, could not he immediately throw them all into a common prison, or at least into the hands of a messenger, and detain them there, till it should be found convenient

to bring them to a trial before a court martial, or otherwise ; or, at least, till the parliament should be called, in order to have an address from this or the other house for breaking such of them, against whom a legal proof could not be obtained ?---Is it to be doubted that either this house or the other, or indeed both, would refuse to address his majesty upon such an occasion ?---And would not this as effectually disappoint all their plots and contrivances, as if his majesty had immediately broke every one of those officers who were at first presented to him as concerned in that plot ?

“ This bill, it has likewise been said, would destroy the influence his majesty ought always to have in the army, and annihilate the dependance the officers ought always to have upon the crown ; but that, my lords, seems another mistake, or at least an oversight : for, notwithstanding any provision in the bill, the power of naming and preferring the officers is to remain absolute in the crown ; and besides, there will be many other ways left, by which the crown may secure the respect and dependance of all the officers in the army. So that there is nothing in this bill, that can possibly diminish that just and due influence which  
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the crown ought to have in the army. The hopes of preferment alone are sufficient for influencing every officer to do his duty, and to shew that respect which is owed, both to the crown and to his superior officers. They may not indeed be sufficient for influencing an officer to act contrary to his duty, both as to his king and country, by obeying the private commands of a wicked minister: but this, my lords, and this only, is what is by this bill proposed to be guarded against. All intended is, That no minister of state shall hereafter have it in his power to tell an officer of the army, in a case that perhaps no way regards military discipline, "Sir! you shall do so and so, -- or starve!"

"In short, my lords, the regulation intended by the bill is what has been thought necessary in all free countries; in this I think it absolutely necessary for the preservation of our constitution: I can see no objection that can be made to it; and therefore I shall still be for a second reading."

But all his lordship's eloquence was in vain: the question was carried in the negative.

The earl of Chesterfield's next remarkable speech was on his majesty's message

to the House of Lords, (March twenty-eight of the same year, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four) for “ a power to augment his forces, if necessary, during the want of a parliament.” After enlarging on the situation of foreign powers, his lordship proceeded thus :

“ The dictatorial power was, my lords, a part of the Roman constitution, even from the very beginning of their republic: but, while they preserved their virtue, while they preserved their liberty, this power was never granted but upon the most important, the most urgent occasions; and was never granted for a longer term than six months. When the virtue and public spirit of that once brave people began to decay, this power indeed was often granted upon trifling occasions. It then began to be granted for a long term, and was soon after granted for life. With this last grant, they gave away the liberties of their country for ever: the dictator might die, but the power was handed down immediately to another; the tyranny became perpetual. The power now asked for is, in some measure, a dictatorial power: it has but of late years crept into our constitution; it was never yet granted but on the most urgent occasions: but if once we begin to grant it

it for a time indefinite, and on such suppositions as *may-bes*, I can easily foresee what it will be---It will at last, nay it will soon, be either granted or taken for life; and then, adieu for ever to the liberties of Great Britain!

“ I will allow, that, by our constitution, our kings have always had, during the interval of parliament, a sort of dictatorial power; a power to take care that the commonwealth may be no ways injured: and, therefore, in case of any sudden and unexpected danger, the king may raise forces, or may fit out a fleet, for preventing that danger; and, where the danger is real, it is certain the king never did, nor ever will want money, as long as there is any in the nation. For, upon such an occasion, no man will refuse to lend his money to the government; and the parliament will certainly approve of what has been done, and provide for the repayment of what has been borrowed, providing it be *made* appear to them that there was a necessity for putting the nation to that expence. But the asking for such a power before-hand, looks as if something were intended that could not well be approved of:---it looks as if the nation were to be put to an additional expence without any apparent reason for

so doing; and as if this anticipated credit were asked from parliament in order to encourage people to lend their money to the public, though they see no necessity for such public expence. No man will refuse to let an infant of a good estate have whatever money may be necessary for his subsistence: for this he has little occasion for any letter of credit from his guardians; but if his guardians should be such fools, or rather such unfaithful guardians, as to give him an unlimited letter of credit, for borrowing whatever he himself might think necessary for his subsistence, it would certainly tend to throw him into extravagance, and might make him a prey for usurers and extortioners.

“ I am very well convinced, my lords; that the safety of the people will not be any way better secured by the resolution now proposed; but I am very far from thinking, that the power of the crown will be no way enlarged. If it were really thought so, I am sensible no minister would ever give himself the trouble of persuading the king to send such a message to parliament. But suppose I were convinced, that no additional power is by this proposition to be granted to the king, that very consideration would  
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with me be a most prevailing argument for being against it; for, it must be allowed, that what is now proposed is something very extraordinary, and contrary to all those forms and methods of proceeding in parliament, which long experience has taught us to be necessary for the preservation of our liberties. Why then should we make so great an encroachment upon our constitution, if neither the safety of the people, nor the security of the crown, be thereby any way improved? This reason, I say, my lords, if there were none other, would prevail with me to be against agreeing to the proposition now before us: but as I think it of the most dangerous consequence to the liberties of the people; as I think that a power is thereby granted to the crown, which ought never to be granted but in cases of the utmost, the most imminent danger, I shall therefore most heartily give my negative to it."

In the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven, when an indirect attempt was made upon the liberty of the press, by "a bill to limit the number of play houses; and to subject all dramatic writers to the jurisdiction of the lord chamberlain, by obliging them to take out a licence for every production before



it can appear on the stage", Lord Chesterfield distinguished himself by an excellent speech, that will for ever endear his name to all the friends of genius, and all the lovers of liberty.

"Our stage," said he, "ought certainly, my lords, to be kept within due bounds; but for this purpose, our laws as they stand at present are sufficient. If our stage-players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted; they may be punished. We have precedents, we have examples of persons being punished for things less criminal, than some pieces lately represented: a new law must therefore be unnecessary; and, in the present case, it cannot be unnecessary without being dangerous. Every unnecessary restraint is a fetter upon the legs, is a shackle upon the hands of liberty: and one of the greatest blessings we enjoy; one of the greatest blessings, my lords, which a people can enjoy, is liberty. But every good in this life has its alloy of evil: licentiousness is the alloy of liberty. It is an ebullition, an excrescence; it is a speck upon the eye of the political body, which I dare never touch but with a gentle—with a trembling hand, lest I injure the body; lest I destroy the eye upon which it is apt to appear.

“ If the stage becomes at any time licentious; if a play appears to be a libel upon the government, or upon any particular man, the king's courts are open; the law is sufficient to punish the offender:—and, in this case, the person injured has a singular advantage. He can be under no difficulty to prove who is the publisher: the players themselves are the publishers; and there can be no want of evidence to convict them.

“ But, my lords, suppose it true, that the laws now in being are not sufficient for putting a check to, or preventing the licentiousness of the stage; suppose it absolutely necessary some new law should be made for that purpose: yet it must be granted, that such a law ought to be maturely considered, and every clause, every sentence, nay every word of it well weighed and examined; lest, under some of those methods presumed, or pretended to be necessary for restraining licentiousness, a power should lie concealed, which might afterwards be made use of to give a dangerous wound to liberty. Such a bill ought not therefore to be introduced at the close of a session; nor ought we, in the passing of such a law, to depart from any of the forms prescribed by our ancestors for preventing deceit and surprise.

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There is such a connection between licentiousness and liberty, that it is not easy to correct the one without dangerously wounding the other. It is extremely hard to distinguish the true limit between them. In a changeable silk we can easily see there are two different colours; but we cannot easily discover where the one ends, and the other begins: they blend insensibly.

“ While we complain of the licentiousness of the stage, and of the insufficiency of our laws, I fear we have more reason, my lords, to complain of bad measures in our polity, and a general decay of virtue and morality among the people. In public, as well as private life, the only way to prevent being ridiculed, is to avoid all ridiculous or wicked measures, and to pursue such only as are virtuous and worthy. The people never endeavour to ridicule those they love and esteem, nor will they suffer them to be ridiculed. If such an attempt is made, the ridicule returns upon the author: he makes himself only the object of public hatred and contempt. If any man therefore thinks he has been censured, if any man thinks he has been ridiculed, upon any of our public theatres, let him examine his actions, and he will see

see the cause; let him alter his conduct, and he will find a remedy.

“ The actions, or behaviour of a private man, may pass unobserved; and, consequently, unapplauded, uncensured: but the actions of those in high stations, can neither pass without notice, nor without censure or applause; and therefore an administration without esteem, and without authority among the people, let their power be ever so great, let their power be ever so arbitrary, will be ridiculed. The severest edicts, the most terrible punishments, cannot entirely prevent it. It is not licentiousness; it is an useful liberty always indulged the stage in a free country, that some great men may there meet with a just reproof, which none of their friends will be free enough, or rather faithful enough, to give them.—Of this we have a famous instance in the Roman history.

“ The great Pompey, after the many victories he had obtained, and the great conquests he had made, had certainly a good title to the esteem of the people of Rome: yet that great man, by some error in his conduct, became an object of general dislike; and, therefore, in the representation of an old play, when Diphilus the actor came to repeat these words,  
*Nostra*

*Nostra Misericordia tu es* MAGNUS, the audience immediately applied them to Pompey, who was at that time as well known by the name of *Magnus*, as by that of Pompey, and were so highly pleased with the satire, that, as Cicero tells us, they made the actor repeat the words a *hundred* times. An account of the matter was immediately sent to Pompey; who, instead of resenting it as an injury, was so wise as to take it for a just reproof: he examined his conduct; he altered his measures; he regained by degrees the esteem of the people;—and then he neither feared the wit, nor felt the satire of the stage.

“ This is an example which ought to be followed by great men in all countries. Such accidents will often happen in every free country; and many such would probably have afterwards happened at Rome, if the Romans had continued to enjoy their liberties: but this sort of liberty in the stage came soon after, I suppose, to be called *licentiousness*; for we are told that Augustus, after having established his empire, restored order in Rome, by “restraining licentiousness.” God forbid we should ever in this country have order restored, or licentiousness restrained, at so dear a rate as the Romans paid for it to Augustus!

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“ In the case I have mentioned, my lords, it was neither the poet nor the player, it was the people that pointed the satire;—and the case will always be the same. When a man has the misfortune to incur the hatred or contempt of the people; when public measures are despised, the audience will apply what never was, what could not be designed, as a satire on the present times. Nay, even though the people should not apply, those who are conscious of guilt—those who are conscious of the wickedness of their own conduct, will take to themselves what the author never designed. We have an instance of this in the case of a famous comedian of the last age; a comedian, who was not only a good poet, but an honest man, and a quiet good subject.

“ When the celebrated Moliere wrote his *Tartuffe*, which is certainly an excellent moral comedy, he did not design to satirize any particular man: yet a great man in France at that time took it to himself, and fancied the author had taken him as a model for one of the principal, and one of the worst characters in the play. Happily he was not the licenser, otherwise France had never had the pleasure—the felicity, I may say, of seeing that comedy acted. But though he was  
not,

not, when the players first proposed to act it at Paris, he had interest enough to get it forbid. Moliere, who knew himself innocent of what was laid to his charge, complained to his patron the prince of Conti, that as his play was designed only to expose hypocrisy, or a false pretence to religion, it was very hard it should be prohibited; particularly, when they were suffered to expose religion itself publicly every night upon the Italian stage. To which the prince wittily replied, "It is true, Moliere, Harlequin ridicules heaven, and exposes religion; but you have done much worse: you have ridiculed the first *minister* of religion."

"I am as much for restraining the licentiousness of the stage, and every other sort of licentiousness, as any of your lordships can be; but I have many reasons for being against the passing of this bill, some of which I shall beg leave to explain. The bill, my lords, may at first view seem designed only against the stage; but, to me, it plainly appears to point somewhere else. It is an arrow, that does but glance upon the stage: the mortal wound seems designed against the liberty of the press. By this bill you prevent a play's being acted, but you do not prevent its being printed; if a licence, therefore, should be  
refused

refused for its being acted, we may depend upon it, the play will be printed. It will be printed and published, my lords, with the refusal in capital letters on the title-page. People are always fond of what is forbidden: this will infallibly procure a good sale. Thus will satires be spread and dispersed through the whole nation; and thus every man in the kingdom may read for six-pence what a few only could have seen acted, and that not under double the expence. We shall then be told, "What! will you allow an infamous libel to be printed and dispersed, which you would not allow to be acted?"—You have agreed to a law for preventing its being acted, can you refuse your assent to a law for preventing its being printed and published?" And I should be glad, my lords, to know what reason you could give for being against the latter, after having agreed to the former; for, I protest, I cannot figure to myself the least shadow even of an excuse.—Thus, my lords, from the precedent now before us, we shall be led—nay we can find no reason for refusing to lay the press under a general licence; and then we may bid adieu to the liberties of Great Britain.

"But granting it necessary, my lords, which I am far from thinking, to make  
a new

a new law for restraining the licentiousness of the stage; yet I shall never be for establishing such a power as is proposed by this bill. If poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained as other subjects are, by the known laws of their country: if they offend, let them be tried, as every Englishman ought to be, by God and their country. Let us not subject them to the arbitrary will and pleasure of any one man. A power lodged in the hands of a single man, to judge and determine without limitation, controul, or appeal, is a sort of power unknown to our laws, and inconsistent with our constitution: it is a higher and more absolute power than we trust even to the king himself; I must therefore think, we ought not to vest any such power in his majesty's lord chamberlain.

“ I shall admit, my lords, that the stage ought not, upon any occasion, to meddle with politics; and for this very reason, among the rest, I am against the bill now before us. This bill will be so far from preventing the stage's meddling with politics, that I fear it will be the occasion of its meddling with nothing else: but then it will be a political stage, *ex parte*. It will be made subservient to the politics and schemes of the court only.

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The licentiousness of the stage will be encouraged, instead of being restrained; but, like court-journalists, it will be licentious only against the patrons of liberty, and the protectors of the people. Whatever man, whatever party, opposes the court in any of their most destructive schemes, will be represented on the stage in the most ridiculous light the hirelings of a court can contrive. True patriotism, and love of public good, will be represented as madness; or as a cloke for envy, disappointment, and malice, whilst the most flagitious crimes, the most extravagant vices and follies, if they are fashionable at court, will be disguised and dressed up in the habit of the most amiable virtues. This, at least, we know was the case in the reign of king Charles II. when the stage was under a licence.

“ The proper business of the stage, my lords, and that for which only it is useful, is to expose those vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of, and to recommend those talents and virtues, which ministers and courtiers seldom either imitate or reward; but by laying it under a licence, and under an arbitrary court-licence too, you will, in my opinion, entirely pervert its use: for every sort of vice and folly, in all countries, generally begins

begins at court, and from thence spreads through the country. By laying the stage, therefore, under an arbitrary court-licence, instead of leaving it what it is, and always ought to be, a gentle scourge for the vices of great men and courtiers, you will make it a canal for propagating and conveying their vices through the whole kingdom.

“ From these considerations, my lords, I think it must appear, that the bill now before us cannot so properly be called a bill for restraining the licentiousness, as a bill for restraining the liberty of the stage; and for restraining it too in that branch, which in all countries has been found the most useful: I must therefore look upon the bill, as a most dangerous encroachment on liberty in general. Nay more, my lords; it is not only an encroachment upon liberty, it is likewise an encroachment on property. Wit, my lords, is a sort of property:—it is the property of those who have it; and too often, alas! the only property they have to depend on. We---thank God, my lords! have a dependence of another kind; we have a much less precarious support, and therefore cannot feel the inconveniencies of the bill now before us: but it is our duty to encourage and protect wit, to whomsoever it



it may belong. Those gentlemen who have such property, are all, I hope, our friends : let us not therefore subject them to any unnecessary or arbitrary restraint.

“ I must own, my lords, I cannot easily agree to the laying of any tax upon wit ; but by this bill it is to be heavily taxed—it is to be excised :—for, if the bill passes, it cannot be retailed in a proper way, without a permit ;—and the lord chamberlain is to have the honour of being chief gauger, supervisor, commissioner, judge, and jury. These hardships, this hazard, to which every gentleman will be exposed who writes for the stage, must certainly prevent every man of a generous and free spirit from attempting any thing in that way ; and, as the stage has always been the proper channel for wit and humour, therefore, my lords, when I speak against this bill, I must think I plead the cause of wit ; I plead the cause of humour ; I plead the cause of genius, and of every gentleman of taste in the kingdom.”

The bill, however, passed by the influence of the ministry : but his Lordship's speech, which can never be sufficiently admired on account of the liberal spirit that it breathes, and which may be considered as a model of senatorial eloquence, awakened a jealousy for the liberty of the press,

press, which has hitherto prevented any second attempt upon it.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, Lord Chesterfield distinguished himself by a spirited harangue against "a standing army;" and in the same year, he attacked Sir Robert Walpole's inglorious "convention with Spain," with all the weight of argument, and all the poignancy of satire. As the first is a general, and the last but a temporary subject, I shall only give his Lordship's speech for the reduction of the army.

"Necessity, my lords," — said he, — "was pleaded for our first standing army; and that necessity was to last but for a year:—that army was to be kept up but till our next session of parliament. The friends of liberty and our constitution then indeed prophesied, that the necessity pretended would last for ever; and that a standing army, if once introduced, would become perpetual, which the courtiers pretended to think impossible. Experience, however, has since shewed us the certainty of that pretended impossibility.

"A body of guards were the first regular troops kept up by the authority of parliament. The friends of liberty looked upon those guards as the seeds of a standing

standing army, and prophesied that, like all pernicious weeds, they would increase vastly; that they would increase so as to choak our constitution. The first part of this prophecy has been fulfilled; God grant the other may not!

“ A courtier would then have said, it was impossible that a body of guards, not exceeding eight hundred men, should increase to an army of eighteen thousand; ---and yet we see it has come to pass. Upon every occasion the word *necessity* was urged for increasing, as it had at first been for establishing, this body of regular troops: a few more troops were always said to be necessary; a few more could subject us to no danger!---so that by a few more, and a few more, we at last arrived at the number we have on foot.

“ To keep up a numerous army, my lords, for the sake of guarding against dangers that can only be said to be possible, is to expose ourselves to those that are probable. Nay, I may go farther; I may say, that the keeping up of a numerous army in time of peace, is no proper safeguard against those possible dangers it is kept up to prevent, and exposes us to dangers that are certain. Slavery and arbitrary power are the certain consequences of keeping up a standing army;  
if

if it be kept up for any number of years. It is the machine by which the chains of slavery are rivetted upon a free people, and wants only a skilful and proper hand to set it a going. This it will certainly at last---perhaps too soon, meet with, if you do not break it in pieces, before the artist takes hold of it. It is the only machine by which the chains of slavery can be rivetted upon us. They may be secretly prepared by another---by corruption; which, like the dark and dirty channel through which it runs, may hiddenly and imperceptibly forge our chains,---but by corruption they can be forged only : it is by a numerous standing army that they must be rivetted. Without such an army, we should break them afunder, as soon as we perceived them, and should chop off the polluted hands of those that had prepared them.

“ It is no argument, my lords, to say, we have kept up an army for many years, without being sensible of any danger. The young fiery courser is never brought at once to submit to the curb, and patiently to take his rider upon his back. If you put the bit into his mouth, without any previous preparation, or put a weak and unskilful rider upon his back, he will probably break the neck of his rider : but by degrees you may make him tamely

submit to both. A free people must be treated in the same manner: by degrees they must be accustomed to be governed by an army; by degrees that army must be made strong enough to hold them in subjection. We have already, for many years, been accustoming our people to be governed by an army, under pretence of making use of that army only to assist the civil power; and, by degrees, we have for several years been increasing the number, and consequently the strength of our army.

“ At the accession of his late majesty, my lords, our army was but six thousand: it soon amounted to twice that number; and, under various pretences, it has since been augmented. It has been increasing almost every year:---and hence I conclude, that slavery, under the disguise of an army, for protecting our liberties, is creeping in upon us by degrees. For, if no reduction is made this year, I shall expect, in a few years, to hear some minister, or favourite of a minister, terrifying us with imaginary plots and invasions, and making the tour of Europe in search of possible dangers, in order to shew us the necessity of keeping up a mercenary standing army three times as numerous as the present.”

In the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine, the earl of Chesterfield vented his keenest indignation against the Danish subsidy; and, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty, he boldly supported the duke of Argyle's motion, "that a general address of thanks should be presented to his majesty, instead of a recapitulation of every paragraph of the king's speech, with expressions of blind approbation, implying a general concurrence with all the measures of the minister."

"I know, my lords,"—said he,—“it has been a custom of late years, to make the address of this House a sort of echo to his majesty's speech from the throne; and, as echoes never fail to repeat the last words of a sentence, so it seems we must never fail echoing back the last paragraph of his majesty's speech. This, I say, has been a custom for some years past; but I cannot think, that a religious observance of this custom is either consistent with the character we ought to preserve, or necessary for shewing our respect to our sovereign.

“Can any one with justice say, my lords, that prejudices, heats, and animosities, have of late been intermixed with our deliberations?—Can any one with justice



justice say, that there has lately been any division among the people of this nation? I am really astonished how such words could creep into his majesty's speech from the throne. The speech, it is true, is generally said to be the speech of the minister, but I wonder what minister dared to tell his majesty, that there have been, or ever were, any heats or animosities in our deliberations, or that there have lately been any divisions amongst his people. I believe there is no assembly in the world, where deliberations and debates are carried on with more decency and calmness: I believe the people of this nation were never less divided in their sentiments, than they have been of late years.

“ The people of England, my lords, were never perhaps so unanimous in any one thing, as they have for several years been in desiring to have an opportunity of revenging themselves against the Spaniards. The only division, if it can be called so, that has of late appeared amongst us, has been between a few of our ministers, or one sole minister, and his immediate dependants, on the one side, and the whole body of the people, on the other; and such a division can, in no sense, be called a division among the  
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people : for in this country, I think, the people and the administration are two terms that are generally made use of as opposite to each other; and there was never greater reason for making use of these two terms in this sense, than there has been for several years past. Then, with regard to heats and animosities, can any one say that there has been lately any heat or animosity amongst the people?—that is, amongst any one set, or party of them, against another. There have, indeed, been great heats and animosities in the nation; but, in this too, the people have been all united. They have most justly shewn heats and animosities against the Spaniards; and, as justly against those who have so long prevented their doing themselves justice. Our heats and animosities then, like our divisions, have been between the whole body of our people on one side, and our ministers and enemies on the other. If any man, therefore, has of late years presumed to say to his majesty, that there were heats or animosities in any of our deliberations, or that there are divisions amongst his people, it must be one of the grossest misrepresentations that ever was whispered into the ear of any sovereign: and shall we, by any expression in our  
address,

address, countenance such a misrepresentation ; and enter, as it were, into a combination for putting an imposition upon our prince, that must give him a bad opinion, not only of his people, but also of this assembly, of which we have the honour to be members ?---Such a conduct, with regard to the people, would be most unjust ; and, with regard to ourselves, it would be a kind of *sele de se*."

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-one, a time when patriotism was very rare, the earl of Chesterfield, always steady to his principles, distinguished himself by a sensible and spirited speech in favour of the bill, 'to prevent pensioners from sitting in parliament.'

"The other house,"—said he,—“ must always be better judges of what passes, or may pass within their own walls than we can pretend to be. It is evident they suspect, that corrupt practices have been, or may be made use of, for gaining an undue influence over some of their members ; and they have calculated this bill for curing the evil, if it is felt ;---for preventing it, if it is only foreseen. That any such practices have actually been made use of, or are now made use of, is what

I shall not pretend to affirm; but, I am sure, I will not affirm the contrary. If any such are made use of, I will, with confidence, vindicate his majesty: I am sure he knows nothing of them; I am sure he would disdain to suffer them. But I cannot pass such a compliment upon his ministers, nor upon any set of ministers that ever was, or will be, in this nation; and therefore, I think, I cannot more faithfully, more effectually, serve his present majesty, or his successors, than by putting it out of the power of any minister to gain a corrupt influence over either House of Parliament. Such an attempt may be necessary for the security of the minister, but must always be inconsistent with the security of his master; and the more necessary it is for the minister's security, the more inconsistent it will always be with the king's, and the more dangerous to the liberties of the nation.

To pretend, my lords, that this bill diminishes, or any way encroaches upon the prerogative, is something very strange. What prerogative, my lords? -- Has not the crown a prerogative to bribe? -- to infringe the laws, by sending its pensioners into the other house? -- To say so, is destroying the credit, the authority of  
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the crown, under pretence of supporting its prerogative. If his majesty knew that any man received a pension from him, or any thing like a pension, and yet kept his seat in the other house, he would himself declare it, or withdraw his pension, because he knows it is against law. This bill, therefore, no way diminishes or encroaches upon the prerogatives of the crown, which can never be exercised but for the public good: It diminishes only the prerogatives usurped by ministers, which are never exercised but for its destruction. The crown may still reward merit in the proper way; that is, openly. The bill is intended, and can operate only against clandestine rewards, or gratuities, given by ministers. These are scandalous; and never were, or will be given, but for base services.

“ Those who say, they depend so much upon the honour, integrity, and impartiality of men of family and fortune, seem to think our constitution can never be dissolved, as long as we have the shadow of a parliament. My opinion, my lords, is so very different, that, if ever our constitution be dissolved, if ever an absolute monarchy be established in this kingdom, which heaven avert! I am convinced it will be under that shadow. Our constitution.

tution consists in the two Houses of Parliament being a check upon the crown, as well as upon each other. If that check should ever be removed; if the crown should by corrupt means, by places, pensions, and bribes, get the absolute direction of our two Houses of Parliament, our constitution will from that moment be destroyed. There would be no occasion for the crown to proceed any further: it would be ridiculous to lay aside the forms of parliament; for, under that shadow our king would be more absolute, and might govern more arbitrarily than he could do without it. A gentleman of family and fortune would not perhaps for the sake of a pension, agree to lay aside the forms of parliament; because by his venal service there he earns his infamous pension, and could not expect the continuance of it, if those forms were laid aside; but a gentleman of family and fortune may, for the sake of a pension, whilst he is in parliament, approve of the most blundering measures, consent to the most excessive and useless grants, enact the most oppressive laws, pass the most villainous accounts, acquit the most heinous criminals, and condemn the most innocent persons, at the desire of that minister who pays him his pension. And, if



if a majority of each House of Parliament consists of such men, would it not be ridiculous in us to talk of our constitution, or to say we had any liberty left?

“ If people would consider the consequences of corruption, there would be no occasion for making laws against it; if they would reflect, that they not only sell their country but themselves; that they become the bond-slaves of the corruptor, who corrupts them not for their sakes but his own, they would reject the offer with disdain. But this degree of reflection is not to be expected; the history of all nations evinces the weakness of human nature: it is therefore necessary, in every free state, to contrive effectual laws against corruption; and as the laws we now have, for excluding pensioners from the other House, are allowed to be ineffectual, we ought to make a trial at least of the remedy now proposed.”

Immediately after the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole, created earl of Orford, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-two, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to inspect into his conduct during the last ten years of his being first commissioner of the treasury. Accordingly persons,

papers, and records, were sent for: but Nicholas Paxton, Esq; solicitor to the treasury, refusing to answer the questions asked of him, the committee found it impossible to lay a clear state of the affair before the House, and reported the same. Upon this report the House brought in a bill for indemnifying such persons as should upon examination, make discoveries touching the disposition of public money, or other matters relating to the conduct of Robert earl of Orford."

The bill passed, and was sent up to the House of Lords, where a warm debate ensued. It was vigorously opposed by Lord Carteret, lately at the head of the opposition in the House of Lords, but who had now complied with the measures of the court, as had likewise Mr. Pulteney, the Cicero of the House of Commons. The earl of Chesterfield was still the same, and spoke in favour of the bill with all the ardour of patriotism.

"In all societies, my lords,"--said he,--"the government must, in the last resort, be absolute and arbitrary: in all governments, even the most slavish, there is a certain set of established laws for trying and punishing crimes of an ordinary nature, by which little villains are obliged to submit to the fate appointed  
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by the law ; and in all governments, even the most free, there must be an extraordinary and arbitrary power for trying crimes of an extraordinary nature ; to the end, that great and extraordinary villains may not be allowed to plunder the public with impunity. But the difference is, that in slavish governments this last resort, this extraordinary and absolute power, and the judging in what cases it is to be made use of, is lodged in one or a few tyrants ; whereas, in free governments, it is lodged in the whole body of the people. In our government, which is of a mixt kind, it is lodged in king, lords, and commons ; and can never, or very rarely, be made a wrong use of, as long as the other House delivers the sentiments of the people, and not the sentiments of the minister. Whilst they do so, our government will be a free government, and none but the guilty will ever suffer by the use of this extraordinary and arbitrary power : but if the other House should ever, by corruption, be brought under a slavish dependance on the crown, they will then in no case deliver the sentiments of the people, but the sentiments of the minister ; and, considering the power the crown has got (I do not know how) of sending whom it pleases, and as

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many as it pleases into this House, we may certainly suppose that this House will be brought to do the same. Our government will then become an absolute and a slavish government; because this last resort, this extraordinary and absolute power, as well as the judging in what cases it is to be made use of, will then be lodged solely in the king, or rather in his prime minister; and it will here, as in other slavish governments, be made use of, not for punishing the greatest villains, but for destroying the best friends to their country.

“ Can your lordships think, can any reasonable man think, that a society ought not to inflict a condign punishment upon an atrocious crime, because they never before thought of making a law against it? Can you think, that a society ought not to try and condemn an atrocious and notorious criminal, because the crime is of such a nature, or because the criminal has been so cunning, that he cannot be tried and convicted by the usual or regular methods that have by law or custom been established?---In all such cases the supreme and absolute power of the society is to take place; which, by our constitution, is to be exercised by way of impeachment, or by way of bill of attainder,  
or

or bill of pains and penalties: and in order to determine, whether it is to be exercised or no, or according to what method it is to be exercised, there must be a previous parliamentary inquiry; in the carrying on of which, we are restrained by no rules but those of common sense and common reason, and much less by those rules that have been prescribed for inquiring into, or trying offences at common law.

“ The chief objection against this bill, my lords, seems to be its being directed against a particular man. The case of the earl of Macclesfield, however, already cited, is a proof that this is no real fault in the bill: but, if it were, the fault is not in those of the other House, who are for an inquiry, but in those who seem afraid of an impartial inquiry into any part of the late conduct of our public affairs. There were two motions in the other House for a general inquiry; but they were both rejected by those who pretend to be the friends of the very person against whom this bill seems to be directed; by which means those who think some sort of inquiry necessary, were reduced to the necessity of making their motion particular, and for a limited time too.

“ When

“ When this motion was made I shall not say,

*Affensere omnes, et quæ sibi quisque timebat,  
Unius in miseri exitium conversa tulere ;*

but it is certain that this motion was carried : and those who were of opinion, that some dangerous practices had been carrying on, were certainly in the right to attack the chief criminal, by himself alone ; since they had from experience some ground to believe, the herd was too numerous to be attacked in a body. If he is innocent, I am sure no other person can be guilty ; and the opposition made to this bill, both in the other house and this, may be a full assurance, that he will be in no danger of suffering by any conspiracy, or false information.

If he is innocent, my lords, the very bill now before us, provides against his being in danger of suffering by a false information ; and, if he be guilty, the report upon which it is founded must convince us, that without such a bill we can expect no true information. When I consider this report, I am really amazed to hear it said, that we have not yet discovered any crime, or that we only think we have discovered the criminal. Is it not evident, that Paxton was an under agent



agent of the treasury?—Is it not evident, that Paxton has received most excessive sums of money without any account? Is it not evident, that he has received most illegal and unheard of favours from the first commissioner of the treasury? Is it not evident, that he has paid vast sums of money for corrupting and influencing elections? Do not the persons to whom he paid those sums declare, that they always believed it to be public money?—And is it not evident, from his own circumstances, that he could not advance those sums out of his own estate? Do not all these circumstances amount to a presumption, almost equal to a proof, that Paxton has employed the public money in corrupting elections; and that in this dangerous and treasonable practice he was employed by his patron, the first commissioner of the treasury?

“ We have already, my lords, discovered the crime; we have already discovered the criminal, almost as far as is possible without such a bill as this. Upon former occasions, and when unhappy men have been prosecuted in parliament by the crown, we have heard of a proof that might convince, though it could not convict. We know who first made use of this distinction. If such a distinction is  
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ever to be admitted, surely it is in favour of a bill for enabling us to find a convicting proof, after we have found a proof that is almost convincing. This is the case at present. We have discovered the crime; we have, in part, discovered the principal criminal: we have almost a convincing proof as to both; and this bill is desired, as the only method by which the person suspected may be cleared of suspicion, or convicted of guilt.

“ With regard to Paxton, my lords, the other house has done nothing but what is usual [they had committed him to Newgate] as well as legal; and as nothing is desired by this bill, but what is consistent with common sense, as well as common law—nothing but what is constantly practised by the crown in all cases whatsoever, I can see no reason for not passing it, but that of screening the guilty. This I can never suspect your lordships of; but I will not answer for what may be said, as well as thought, by people without doors: for a most general suspicion has arisen, that the public money, and all the posts and offices in the kingdom have of late been converted towards procuring a corrupt influence both at elections and in parliament.

“ I shall

“ I shall readily admit, my lords, that no man ought to do or approve of what he thinks is wrong for the sake of popularity ; but as the people are very seldom in the wrong, or at least do not often persist long in a wrong opinion, and as popularity, and the esteem of one’s country, is certainly a very desirable thing, a man should examine thoroughly, and be very fully convinced, before he takes upon him to dissent from a great majority of his countrymen. Whilst I sit in this assembly, therefore, I shall always advise my sovereign to give great heed to any opinion that prevails generally among the people : I shall never advise him to pursue any measure that is contrary to the sentiments of the majority of his subjects. If I were in any other of his majesty’s councils, I should do the same. Even if I thought the people in the wrong, I should be for giving way to their humour, as far as was consistent with their safety. In a free country, this is absolutely necessary. A free people must be treated like a fine woman. If she has now and then a little caprice, you must not flatly contradict her : you must give way, or at least seem to give way to her humour ; till, by good treatment, and a delicate opposition, you find an opportunity to give a turn to her temper.

temper. This is the only way by which you can clap the padlock upon her mind ; and this, in my opinion, is the only padlock in which there is any security. A free people must be treated in the same manner : for, if you do not clap the padlock upon their mind, you must govern them by force, which puts an end to their freedom ; and, in my opinion, to your security.

“ For this reason, my lords, if there was no other argument in favour of the bill, I should be for passing it into a law ; because it is generally approved of, and generally expected without doors ; and as I can see no force in any of the arguments that have been made use of for shewing it to be inconsistent with, or of dangerous consequence to our constitution, I shall most heartily give it my concurrence.”

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty three, the ministry being pressed for money to fulfil their foreign engagements, a bill was framed for “ repealing an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six, by which very heavy duties (amounting to a prohibition) were laid upon gin and other home-made spirits, and for imposing others at an *easier* rate.”

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This bill passed the House of Commons without much opposition ; but, in the House of Lords, it produced one of the most obstinate disputes ever known, and certainly with great justice ; for, whatever need the government might be in of money, it ought not to have been raised by tolerating the infamous vice of drunkenness : more especially, as the nation had been lately so sensible of the fatal effects of the pernicious liquid in question upon the common people. These effects cannot be better described than in the words of the bishop of Oxford. “ Permit me to remind your Lordships,” said he, “ of the horrible scenes that appeared publicly in our streets, before passing the law which you are now to repeal. Almost in every street, we had two or three gin-shops, filled with such company as no sober man could view without horror ; and yet this was not the worst. There was an invisible scene still more terrible to think of : for, they tell me, every one of these gin-shops had a back shop or cellar, strewed every morning with fresh straw, where those that got drunk were thrown, men and women, promiscuously together. Here they might commit what wickedness they pleased ; and, by sleeping out the dose they had taken, make themselves ready

ready to take another, if they could find money to pay for it.

“ These open scenes of wickedness we got rid of by the law you are now to repeal. But this law, it is said, did not put a stop to the consumption; though spirituous liquors were not publickly, they were privately retailed as much as ever. I am sorry for it, my lords : I am sorry the law was not better executed ; but this shall never be an argument with me for allowing a public retail : I shall always be for confining vice as much as possible to holes and corners ; --- and it must be allowed that the temptation can never be so great, or so general, as when we have a public shop at every corner, where a poor passenger is often drawn in by some friend, perhaps some *female* friend, and by variety of company and example, as well as by the nature of the liquor, is enticed to drink too much.

“ But the other day, as I am credibly informed, two children were murdered by giving them a spoonful of that pernicious liquor called *gin* ; and many children are murdered in the womb, or upon the breast, by the mother’s drinking too plentifully of that poisonous liquid. Will you then, my lords, commit the care of dispensing this poison to every alehouse-keeper,



keeper, to every man in the kingdom, who is willing to pay half a crown to the justices, and twenty shillings a year to the government for a licence? — Will you enable them to dispense this poison at so cheap a rate, that a poor thoughtless creature may get drunk for three-pence, and purchase immediate death for sixpence?"

Lord Carteret, Lord Bathurst, and the Earl of Bath, all recent patriots, were among the advocates for the bill: it was opposed by lord Hervy, now metamorphosed into a sturdy patriot, by the loss of the privy seal, and by several prelates, besides the bishop of Oxford. The Earl of Chesterfield attacked it with the united powers of reason, wit, and ridicule.

"I am surprized,"---said he,---"how any lord of this house can suppose the bill before us designed for suppressing, or putting a stop to the excessive drinking of spirituous liquors. In my opinion, the very title of the bill ought to be altered; it ought to be called, 'A bill for encouraging the consumption of spirituous liquors, by enabling all the poor in the kingdom to get drunk as often as they please.'

"I shall grant, my lords,"---continued he,---"that gin is now clandestinely retailed at most alehouses, and at many other  
 5 houses:

houses : but this is done privately, and to such people as the landlord can trust. It is not sold openly in a public room, where variety of companies meet, and where the example of one company incites another to the use, perhaps the abuse of this pernicious liquor ; which will be the case, as soon as this bill begins to operate as a law. The restraint people have been under for some years, will make them more extravagant, when they find themselves at full liberty. This bill will therefore, in my opinion, quite alter the old English sort of drunkenness, which proceeded from hospitality and good fellowship. If they did, in former days, get drunk, it was with strong beer, or ale, which is a sort of soporific. While they were drinking they were merry ; when they got drunk, they went to sleep. But our modern liquor, called *gin*, has converted drunkenness into madness. It admits of no mirth, no conversation. The company grow mad, before they well know what they are about ; and the more they drink, the more ripe they grow for any wickedness or extravagance.

“ Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Would you lay a tax upon a breach of  
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the ten commandments? --- Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous, as it would imply an indulgence to all those who could pay the tax? -- Is not this a reproach most justly thrown by protestants upon the church of Rome? Was it not the chief cause of the Reformation? And will you follow a precedent which brought reproach and ruin upon those that introduced it? This is the very case now before us: you are going to lay a tax, and consequently to indulge a sort of drunkenness, which almost necessarily produces a breach of every one of the ten commandments. Can you expect the reverend bench will approve of this? -- I am convinced they will not; and therefore I wish I had seen it full upon this occasion. I am sure I have seen it fuller upon other occasions, in which religion was not so much concerned.

“ We have already, my lords, several sorts of funds in this nation; so many, that a man must have a good deal of learning to be master of them. Thanks to his majesty! we have now amongst us the most learned man of the nation in this way: [the earl of Orford, formerly Sir Robert Walpole.] I wish he would rise up and tells us, what name we are to give to this new fund. We have already the

the Civil List fund, the Sinking fund, the Aggregate fund, the South Sea fund, and God knows how many others. What name we are to give to the new fund, I know not; unless we are to call it the Drinking fund. It may perhaps enable the people of a certain foreign territory [Hanover] to drink claret, but it will disable the people of this kingdom from drinking any thing else but gin: for when a man has, by gin-drinking, rendered himself unfit for labour or business, he can purchase nothing else; and then the best thing he can do is, to drink on till he dies.

“ But, my lords, to be serious upon this subject, for it is really an affair that deserves your most serious consideration; I wish your Lordships would declare, what is truly your meaning by this bill: for I think it inconsistent with your dignity to declare what no man in England will believe you mean. I therefore wish you would declare openly and freely, that you hereby intend to promote the excessive drinking of gin, in order to increase his majesty's revenue; for no reasonable man will suppose you intend to discourage, much less prohibit this vice, by giving every man that pleases an indulgence, not only to practice it himself, but to promote  
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it in others, upon condition of his paying a small tax yearly. For this reason, I think, you ought to prefix to the bill a preamble in these, or the like words:---

‘Whereas his majesty has occasion for a large sum of money for maintaining his Hanoverian troops, and the British troops sent, for what purpose we know not, to Flanders; and whereas a very considerable new revenue may be raised by permitting the people of England to poison themselves with a liquor called *gin*, which of late years the poor have grown extremely fond of, therefore be it enacted——’

“Such a preamble, I shall grant, my lords, would not be very consistent with that regard which you profess, and ought to have for the people; but, in my opinion, it would be more consistent with your dignity than any other: for no man of any honour will profess one thing when he means the direct contrary; and a man, who has a regard to his character, will be cautious of professing what no man in the world will believe he means.

“If our people must make use of spirituous liquors, I shall always be for encouraging them to make use of those of a home, rather than of a foreign manufacture: but I shall never be for raising the British distillery upon the destruction of

the British people ; and therefore I shall always be for laying such restraints upon the use of spirituous liquors, even those of our own manufacture, as may prevent, as much as possible, the people from destroying themselves by the abuse. The means of doing this are known ; and, from experience, manifest. Brandy and rum are certainly as palatable as any sort of home-made spirit ; yet the abuse, or excessive use of these liquors, never became general among the people :---and why ? The reason, my lords, is plain : we have subjected them to such high duties, as render it impossible for a poor man to commit frequent debauches in them ; and, if willing, we might easily do the same with regard to all home-made spirits. A duty of three or four shillings per gallon, upon the still-head, would have the same effect as to them, that our high duties have with regard to rum and brandy ; and the payment of this duty might be as easily, and as effectually enforced, as the payment of the other.

“ But such a duty as this, my lords, would certainly diminish the consumption : nay, it would probably diminish the revenue arising from that consumption ; and therefore, I am afraid, it will never be thought of, much less proposed, by ministers



nisters who never value a duty but (as Hudibras says, every thing is to be valued) according to the "money it will bring." They may chime in with a popular cry for taxing some sort of luxury, but, if they can, they will take care that the tax shall not be so high as to amount to an effectual prohibition; consequently, it becomes a fund: and, when they have got such a tax laid on, they endeavour to propagate the luxury, in order to increase the fund. This, I am convinced, will be the case of the bill now before us. The excessive drinking of gin is become a luxury, chiefly among the necessitous part of our people; and, as it is not only vicious in itself, but the father of all other vices, it ought to be prohibited, or at least restrained, by such a tax as would amount to a prohibition. Instead of this, you are to lay such a small tax, that it will not be felt by the consumer,---and to make that a tax for bringing in a considerable revenue to the government. Can you expect, after this, that ministers, or their under agents, will take any method for repressing the vice, or the luxury?---Will they not give secret orders to their tools, the justices, to connive at this sort of wickedness?---And the retailers will certainly propagate it to the utmost of

their power. Therefore, when this project was first formed, I must suppose, that half a dozen ministers having assembled, and laid their wise heads together, they resolved, that the people of this nation should be drunk for one twelvemonth at least ; not only to raise a sum of money for their dark purposes, but to prevent the people from being sensible of their misery, or of the heavy burdens intended to be laid upon them and their posterity."

When the question was put for committing this bill, and the earl of Chesterfield saw the bishops join in his division, " I am in doubt,"--said he,---" whether I have not got on the other side of the question ; for I have not had the honour to divide with so many lawn-sleeves for several years."

In the same year, one thousand seven hundred and forty-three, the earl of Chesterfield distinguished himself by a bold and spirited speech against the contract, by which the Hanoverian troops had been taken into British pay, without the advice or consent of parliament. He had indeed reason to talk with asperity of that contract. Levy-money was charged to the account, though the troops were engaged for one year only ; and though  
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not a single regiment had been raised on this occasion: they had been levied for the security of the electorate; and would have been maintained, though Britain had never engaged in the affairs of the continent. The dependents of the court pleaded the cause of Hanover, and insisted upon the necessity of a land war against France, with all the vehemence of declamation. Their suggestions were answered, and their conduct was severely stigmatized by the earl of Chesterfield.

The assembling of an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by interest, to support the queen of Hungary, his lordship observed, was a rash and ridiculous measure; that the taking of sixteen thousand Hanoverians into British pay, without consulting the parliament, seemed highly derogatory to the rights and dignity of the great council of the nation, and a very dangerous precedent to future times; that those troops could not be employed against the emperor, whom they had already recognized; that the arms and wealth of Great Britain alone were sufficient to raise the house of Austria to its former strength, dominion, and influence; that the assembling of an army in Flan-

ders would engage the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous land-war, with a power which it ought not to provoke, and could not pretend to withstand in that manner; that while Great Britain exhausted itself almost to ruin, in pursuance of schemes founded on engagements to the queen of Hungary, the electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same prince, did not appear to contribute anything as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field, at a very exorbitant price; that nothing could be more absurd and iniquitous than to hire these mercenaries, while a numerous army lay inactive at home, and the nation groaned under a load of taxes.

“ It may be proper,”—added he,—  
 “ to repeat, what may be forgotten in the multitude of other objects, That this nation, after having exalted the elector of Hanover from a state of obscurity to the throne, is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight their own cause; to hire men at a rate never demanded before, and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not raised for this occasion —If we are now persuaded to take them into

our pay for the support of our allies abroad, we may hereafter be persuaded to bring them over here for the support of our establishments at home. Necessity will be as strong an argument for that, as it has of late been for keeping up a numerous standing army of our own in time of peace: for they are equally inconsistent with our constitution; and the disaffection of our army may hereafter be pleaded with as much strength, and perhaps with as much success, for keeping a numerous army of mercenary Hanoverians in the kingdom, as the disaffection of the people has of late years been pleaded for keeping a numerous army of mercenary Englishmen.

“ What we are now about, my lords, is the first step; and, like a virgin deflowered, it is always more easy to get a free people to make the second step to slavery, than it is to get them to make the first. Nay, I am told, my lords, that some of the new converts of the other House (for new converts are always zealous) have even moved for a second step; that they have already declared for bringing the Hanoverian guards to England; and it is not impossible but it has been suggested, that a regiment of the English guards ought to be sent to Ha-

nover in their stead, that at both places his majesty may appear both as king of Great Britain and elector of Hanover."

By the report of the secret committee, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, it appeared, that the then minister had commenced prosecutions against the mayors of boroughs who opposed his influence in the electing of members of parliament. These prosecutions were founded on ambiguities in charters, or trivial informalities in the choice of magistrates. An appeal on such a process was brought into the House of Lords; and, this evil falling under consideration, a bill was prepared for 'securing the independency of corporations.'

As this bill tended to lessen the influence of the ministry, they exerted all their rhetoric against it. The earl of Chesterfield, always the advocate of the people, and the friend of freedom, spoke in favour of it with his usual eloquence.

"This bill, my lords," said he, "would prevent any corporation, or officer of a corporation, from being exposed to suffer greatly by a neglect, or non-observance of some of the formalities, or ceremonies, prescribed by its charter; and, as very few of our corporations become liable to prosecutions upon any other account, it  
would



would be sufficient for putting an end to that ministerial influence over our cities and boroughs, which we have so much reason at present to dread the consequence of, and which a late famous report has made manifest to the whole nation. Corporations have not only been prosecuted, at the expence of the crown, for the neglect of insignificant formalities, but they have been prosecuted expressly for refusing to chuse such representatives as the minister directed.

“ A noble lord was pleased to call our corporations the creatures of the crown. Too many of them, my lords, are so : I am for making them less so ; and therefore am for having this bill passed into a law ; for, whatever bad consequences it may be attended with, I am sure they cannot be so bad as the consequences of our neglecting, or delaying, to make any regulation for guarding against, or removing the danger to which we are at present exposed. Many of our boroughs are, indeed, so much the creatures of the crown, that they are generally called court boroughs ; and they are very properly called so : for our ministers, for the time being, have always the nomination of their representatives, and make such an arbitrary use of it, that they of-

order them to chuse gentlemen they never saw, nor heard of perhaps, till they saw his name on the minister's order for chusing him as their representative. This order they always punctually obey ; and would, I believe, obey it, were the person named in it the minister's footman, then actually wearing his livery : for they have, we know, chosen men who had but lately thrown the livery off their backs, but never could throw it off their minds."

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, the commons of England, in order to evince their loyalty, brought in a bill denouncing the penalties of high-treason against those who should maintain correspondence with the sons of the pretender. When the bill was sent up to the House of Peers, Lord Hardwicke, the then chancellor moved, that a clause should be inserted, extending the crime of treason to the " posterity of the offenders, during the lives of the pretender's sons."

This motion, which was supported by the whole strength of the ministry, produced a warm debate ; in which the duke of Bedford, the earl of Chesterfield, the lords Talbot and Harvey, spoke against it in the most pathetic manner, as an illiberal expedient, contrary to the dictates  
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of humanity, the law of nature, the rules of common justice, and the precepts of religion; an expedient that would involve the innocent with the guilty, and tend to the augmentation of ministerial power, for which purpose it was undoubtedly calculated.

“ There are two sorts of men, my lords,” said the earl of Chesterfield, “ that may be guilty of treason: men of honour and conscience; and men of no honour or conscience, but such as is governed entirely by their unruly and wicked passions. As to these last, can we suppose, that a man who allows himself to be so led away by his ambition or revenge, as to involve his native country in blood and confusion, will be restrained by regard to his family, his wife, or his children?---Such men regard nothing but their domineering passion, and sacrifice every thing to its satisfaction: therefore the continuance of these unjust punishments can have no effect upon them; and, as to the men of honour and conscience, they are either mad enthusiasts, who are generally governed by some wrong principle, or reasonable, considerate men, who are always governed by a right principle. Of the former sort I reckon the few Jacobites that still re-  
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main:

main amongst us. Now, my lords, it is well known, that the severest, the most cruel punishments, can have no effect upon enthusiasm: they propagate the madness instead of putting a stop to it; and therefore, by this clause, we may increase, but cannot prevent or diminish the danger we have to apprehend from Jacobitism.

“ As to reasonable, considerate men, my lords, it is certain they will never think of rising in arms against an established government, but when their duty to their country obliges them, and the nature of our constitution makes it lawful for them to do so. If any future prince of our present royal family should overturn our constitution, and set up to govern without any parliament, or by means of a packed, corrupt parliament, and a mercenary standing army, it would be the duty of every man in the kingdom to take arms against the ministers that advised, and the venal tools that supported such measures. By the nature of our constitution it would, *in foro conscientie*, be lawful to do so; and yet, *in foro juridico*, it would be high-treason to do so. If unsuccessful, to the greater misfortune of their country than of themselves, they would, or at least might, all be condemned or attainted as traitors.

traitors. Against such men, and for the support of such a government, I shall grant, that this clause would have a very considerable effect: for reasonable, considerate men will always have a great regard for their families, their wives and their children; and, unless they have a very high degree of public spirit, and even something of an enthusiastic turn, the ruin and misery which their families, their wives, and children, may be brought to, will be an effectual restraint upon their actions, and prevent them from joining with those who may attempt to rescue their country from slavery and arbitrary power. But I leave it to your lordships to consider, whether we ought to provide for any such restraint, and what we ought to think of those who advise us to do so.

“ I am surprised to hear any lord say, that the child does not suffer, or that the child's right is not taken away by the forfeiture of his father. The possessor of a fee simple has, it is true, by law a power to alienate his estate by deed, or to grant it away from his children by will. This must be allowed by the laws of society for the sake of commerce, for the sake of enabling a man to improve his estate, and for the sake of keeping children in due obedience to their father. But will

will any one say, that a man who squanders his estate does no injury to his children?— Will any one say, that a man who by his will grants away his estate from his children, without leaving them a competency, and without any demerit in them, does no injury to his children?— My Lords, with regard to those estates that are transmitted to us from our ancestors, it is a manifest piece of injustice to our children to squander them, or grant them away to strangers, unless our children have done something to deserve being disinherited. Even as to an estate acquired by a man's industry, he ought not to squander it, or to grant it away from innocent children. A man is obliged to provide in the best manner he is able for his children: he is worse than a savage that does not provide for his family; and if Providence has blessed a man's industry, so as to enable him to provide for his children, he must be still worse, if he afterwards squanders that provision, or grants it away to strangers. The child has a natural right to what his father acquires: he has a family right, as well as a natural right, to the estate transmitted to his father by his ancestors; and to take that right from him, on account of any crime committed by the father,



father, is a flagrant piece of injustice, let it be done by whom it will, and upon what principle it will. To take the estate away from an innocent heir, is in many cases cruel, as well as unjust. It is cruel to take the subsistence away from an innocent babe at the breast ;—and to turn both mother and child out of doors, may be the practice of tyrannical arbitrary governments, but ought never to be admitted in a humane government or free country.

“To pretend, my lords, that these forfeitures are necessary for preserving the society from rebellions and insurrections, and the persons of our kings and ministers from conspiracies and assassinations, is an argument, if we once exceed the bounds of justice and humanity, that can admit of no limitation. For the same reason it may be said to be necessary, to put a traitor’s children to death before his face : it may be said to be necessary, to put all his friends and relations to death ; and to find out the person most dear to him, perhaps his wife, in order to have her put to death before his eyes. In short, the same argument may be made use of for the most exquisite tortures, and for all those cruel punishments that are now  
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in use among the tyrannical governments in Asia and Africa.

“ Thus your lordships must see, how far you may be led, if you once admit, that, for the peace of society and preservation of government, punishments may be inflicted that are both cruel and unjust. I therefore hope, my lords, you will spare a thought for your children, your families, and posterity. They have not only estates, but honours and dignities to lose. I hope the reverend bench, though their honours are not hereditary, will shew a concern for those that are. I hope the lords from Scotland will consider, how many noble families of their country have been lately destroyed by this maxim of punishing children for the father's crime. The guilty deserved to suffer; but it is hard to make the innocent partake in their punishment.

“ I know, my lords, that in felonies the goods and chattels are forfeited, as well as the lands, goods and chattels in treason. I approve of the one as little as I do of the other: but felons have generally nothing to forfeit. By such a forfeiture it seldom happens once in a century, that the value of a thousand pounds becomes forfeited; and, in felony, there is no such danger of the prisoner being unjustly.

justly convicted, as in treason, where ministers generally interest themselves to have the prisoner condemned. Besides, my lords, as forfeitures for treason become generally the prey of ministers and favourites, and are often of great value, they may be the cause of many an innocent man being convicted, condemned, and executed, for no other reason but because he has a fine estate ; or, as it was once expressed, because he would be “ a bonny traitor.” Such expedients for raising money, we know, were frequent under the tyrannical emperors of Rome, who had a band of well-disciplined *delatores* for that very purpose ; and, in time, our informers may be as numerous, and as well disciplined as those *delatores* : for, when a bad custom has once taken root, no one can imagine how fast it grows ; how far it spreads its baneful branches.

“ I must further observe, my lords, that these forfeitures are so far from preventing, that they may be the cause of a rebellion. If needy and daring counsellors should get the government of a weak prince, they may advise him to arbitrary and oppressive measures, with a view to provoke a rebellion, that they may have a chance of enriching themselves

selves out of the spoils of the rebels. The king, indeed, by such measures, might risk, or lose his crown ; but, as such ministers have little to lose, and a great deal to gain, they would give themselves very little trouble about the risk their sovereign might run, if they thought they had but a tolerable chance of victory ; and that an established government can scarcely be without.

“ The security of this government, my lords, and the tranquillity of this nation, depends not upon frightening either the disaffected or dissatisfied from rising in arms, by the severity of punishment : it depends, my lords, and I hope will always depend, upon the smallness of their number. Upon this our tranquillity will always depend, and securely depend, as long as our liberties are preserved entire ; and, if they should ever come to be encroached on, I am sure it is neither the business nor the duty of parliament, to endeavour to frighten men from taking arms in defence of the liberties of their country.”

These speeches, I hope, will be deemed sufficient to establish the earl of Chesterfield's reputation as a statesman, an orator, and a patriot, while they serve as models of senatorial eloquence to our young nobility.

bility. I shall therefore return to his lordship's private character, and private life.

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#### C H A P. IV.

*His Lordship's Conduct in private Life, with the first Part of the System of Education delivered in a Series of Letters to his Son, with moral and critical Observations.*

THE earl of Chesterfield's attention to the interests of his country did not divert him from the duties of private life ; nor even from its pleasures. In the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three, he married the Lady Melosinah de Schulenberg, countess of Walsingham, and natural daughter of King George I. who is still alive. By his lady, however, he had no children : but he had, about a year before his marriage, by Madame du Bouchet, a French lady, a natural son, whom he loved and cherished with all the fondness of a father, and whose education was for many years the chief engagement of his life. After furnishing him with the most valuable treasures of ancient and modern learning, he

he was desirous of adding to those acquisitions, that knowledge of men and things which he himself had acquired by long and great experience. With this view he wrote the Letters lately published, and which have been so deservedly admired. They begin with those dawnings of instruction adapted to the capacity of a boy, and rising gradually by precepts and admonitions, calculated to direct and guard the age of incautious youth, finish with the advice and knowledge requisite to form the man ambitious to shine as an accomplished courtier, an orator in the senate, or a minister at foreign courts. In short, he meant to form, what he was himself, an all-accomplished man ; and, as that is professedly the design of this work, it cannot surely be done more effectually, than by accompanying the example with the precepts of such a master.

I shall not begin with his lordship's earliest letters : but I shall begin as early as, I think, they can be of any use to the readers of this book ; and, if any should think I begin too early, they will please to reflect, that others may think I begin too late.

Having given his son a concise account of the Heathen gods and goddesses, of the  
Trojan



Trojan war, and the first Romans, the earl of Chesterfield proceeds to what may be properly called *instruction*, in contradistinction to *information*. Here, therefore, I shall begin to form my MAN of the WORLD, leaving the article of information, as his lordship did, principally to others. Nor shall I servilely deliver his lordship's precepts, as if they were sacred: I am sensible that no man is infallible: but I shall never differ from him without assigning a reason for so doing; and, happily, our sentiments are pretty much alike: So that the reader will not be troubled with much altercation.

"History," says his lordship, "is an account of whatever has been done by any country in general, or by any number of people, or by any one man: thus, the Roman History is an account of what the Romans did, as a nation: the History of Catiline's Conspiracy, is an account of what was done by a particular number of people; and the History of Alexander the Great, written by Quintus Curtius, is the account of the life and actions of one single man. History is, in short, an account or relation of any thing that has been done.

"History is divided into sacred and prophane, ancient and modern.

"Sacred

“ Sacred history is the Bible, that is, the Old and New Testament. The Old Testament is the History of the Jews, who were God’s chosen people ; and the New Testament is the History of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.

“ Prophane history is the account of the heathen gods, such as you read in Ovid’s Metamorphoses, and which you will know a great deal more of, when you come to read Homer, Virgil, and the other ancient Poets.

“ Ancient history is the account of all the kingdoms and countries of the world, down to the end of the Roman empire.

“ Modern history is the account of the kingdoms and countries of the world, since the destruction of the Roman empire.

“ The perfect knowledge of history is extremely necessary ; because, as it informs us of what was done by other people, in former ages, it instructs us what to do in the like cases. Besides, as it is the common subject of conversation, it is a shame to be ignorant of it.”

How elegantly concise !—He proceeds thus :

“ Geography must necessarily accompany history ; for it would not be enough to know what things were done formerly,  
but

but we must know where they were done; and geography, you know, is the description of the earth, and shows us the situations of towns, countries, and rivers. For example; geography shows you that England is in the North of Europe, that London is the chief town of England, and that it is situated upon the river Thames, in the county of Middlesex: and the same of other towns and countries. Geography is likewise divided into ancient and modern; many countries and towns having, now, very different names from what they had formerly; and many towns, which made a great figure in ancient times, being now utterly destroyed, and not existing: as the two famous towns of Troy, in Asia, and Carthage, in Africa; of both which there are not now the least remains."

Having thus discussed history and geography, his lordship proceeds to chronology.

"History," continues he, "must be accompanied with chronology, as well as geography, or else one has but a very confused notion of it; for it is not sufficient to know what things have been done, which history teaches us; and where they have been done, which we learn by geography; but one must know when they

have been done, and that is the particular business of chronology. I will therefore give you a general notion of it.

“ Chronology fixes the dates of facts ; that is, it informs us when such and such things were done ; reckoning from certain periods of time, which are called *Æras*, or *Epochs* : for example, in Europe, the two principal *æras* or *epochs*, by which we reckon, are, from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ, which was four thousand years ; and from the birth of Christ to this time, which is one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine years : so that, when one speaks of a thing that was done before the birth of Christ, one says, it was done in such a year of the world ; as, for instance, Rome was founded in the three thousand two hundred and twenty-fifth year of the world ; which was about seven hundred and fifty years before the birth of Christ. And one says, that Charlemain was made the first emperor of Germany in the year eight hundred ; that is to say, eight hundred years after the birth of Christ. So that you see, the two great periods, *æras*, or *epochs*, from whence we date every thing, are, the creation of the world, and the birth of Jesus Christ.

“ There

“ There is another term in chronology, called centuries, which is only used in reckoning after the birth of Christ. A century means one hundred years ; consequently, there have been seventeen centuries since the birth of Christ, and we are now in the eighteenth century. When any body says, then, for example, that such a thing was done in the tenth century, they mean, after the year nine hundred, and before the year one thousand, after the birth of Christ. When any body makes a mistake in Chronology, and says, that a thing was done some years sooner, or some years later than it really was, that error is called an Anachronism.”

Having thus explained the meaning and use of history, geography, and chronology, and showed the connection they have with one another ; that is, how they are joined together, and depend each upon the other, he returns to consider history more particularly by itself.

“ The most ancient histories of all,” adds he, “ are so mixed with fables, that is, with falsehoods and invention, that little credit is to be given to them. All the Heathen gods and goddesses, that you read of in the poets, were only men and women ; but, as they had either found out some useful invention, or had done a

great deal of good in the countries where they lived, the people, who had a great veneration for them, made them gods and goddesses when they died, addressed their prayers, and raised altars to them. Thus Bacchus, the god of wine, was only the first man who invented the making of wine; which pleased the people so much, that they made a God of him: and may be they were drunk when they made him so. So Ceres, the goddess of plenty, who is always represented, in pictures, with wheat-sheaves about her head, was only some good woman, who invented ploughing, and sowing, and raising corn: and the people, who owed their bread to her, deified her; that is, made a goddess of her. The case is the same of all the other Pagan gods and goddesses, which you read of in prophane and fabulous history.

“ The authentic, that is, the true ancient history, is divided into five remarkable periods or æras, of the five great empires of the world. The first empire of the world was the Assyrian, which was destroyed by the Medes. The empire of the Medes was overturned by the Persians; and the empire of the Persians was demolished by the Macedonians, under Alexander the Great. The empire of Alexander the Great lasted no longer than his



his life ; for at his death, his generals divided the world among them, and went to war with one another ; till, at last, the Roman empire arose, swallowed them all up, and Rome became the mistress of the world. Remember, then, that the five great empires, that succeeded each other were these :

1. The Assyrian empire, first established.
2. The empire of the Medes.
3. The Persian empire.
4. The Macedonian empire.
5. The Roman empire."

His lordship next returns to a more particular consideration of chronology.

" Chronology," observes he, " is the art of measuring and distinguishing time, or the doctrine of epochas, which, you know, are particular and remarkable periods of time. The word chronology is compounded of the Greek words *χρονος*, which signifies *time*, and *λογος*, which signifies *discourse*. Chronology and geography are called the two eyes of history, because history can never be clear and well understood without them. History relates facts ; chronology tells us at what time, or when, those facts were done ; and geography shows us in what place or country they were done. The Greeks

measured their time by Olympiads, which was a space of four years, called in Greek *Ολυμπιας*. This method of computation had its rise from the Olympic games, which were celebrated the beginning of every fifth year, on the banks of the river Alpheus, near Olympia, a city in Greece. The Greeks, for example, would say, that such a thing happened in such a year of such an Olympiad: as for instance; that Alexander the Great died in the first year of the 114th Olympiad. The first Olympiad was 774 years before Christ; so, consequently, Christ was born in the first year of the 195th Olympiad.

“ The period, or æra, from whence the Romans reckoned their time, was from the building of Rome; which they marked thus, *ab U. C.* that is, *ab Urbe Condita*. Thus, the kings were expelled, and the consular government established, the 244th *ab U. C.* that is, of Rome.

“ All Europe now reckons from the great epocha of the birth of Jesus Christ, which was 1738 years ago; so that, when any body asks, in what year did such or such a thing happen, they mean in what year since the birth of Christ.

“ For example; Charlemain, in French Charlemagne, was made emperor of the West in the year 800; that is, 800 years  
after

after the birth of Christ; but, if we speak of any event or historical fact that happened before that time, we then say, it happened so many years before Christ. For instance; we say Rome was built 750 years before Christ.

“ The Turks date from their Hegira, which was the year of the flight of their false prophet, Mahomet, from Mecca; and, as we say that such a thing was done in such a year of Christ; they say, such a thing was done in such a year of the Hegira. Their Hegira begins in the 622d year of Christ, that is, above 1100 years ago.

“ There are two great periods in chronology, from which the nations of Europe date events. The first is the creation of the world; the second, the birth of Jesus Christ.

“ Those events that happened before the birth of Christ, are dated from the creation of the world. Those events which have happened since the birth of Christ, are dated from that time; as the present year 1739. For example;

Noah's flood happened in the year	<i>A. M.</i>
of the world	1656
Babylon was built by Semiramis,	
in the year	1800
	Moses

	<i>A. M.</i>
Moses was born in the year	2400
Troy was taken by the Greeks, in the year	2800
Rome founded by Romulus, in the year	3225
Alexander the Great conquered Persia	3674
Jesus Christ born in the year of the world	4000

“ The meaning of *A. M.* at the top of these figures, is *anno mundi*, the year of the world.

“ From the birth of Christ, all Christians date the events that have happened since that time; and this is called *the Christian æra*. Sometimes we say, that such a thing happened in such a year of Christ, and sometimes we say, in such a century. Now, a century is one hundred years from the birth of Christ; so that at the end of every hundred years a new century begins; and we are, consequently, now in the eighteenth century.

“ For example, as to the Christian æra, or since the birth of Christ;

Mahomet, the false prophet of the  
Turks, who established the Ma-  
hometan religion, and writ the

Alcoran

Alcoran, which is the Turkish book of religion, died in the seventh century; that is, in the year of Christ

632

Charlemain was crowned emperor in the last year of the eighth century, that is, in the year

800

“ Here the old Roman empire ended.

William the Conqueror was crowned king of England in the eleventh century, in the year

1066

The Reformation, that is, the Protestant religion, begun by Martin Luther, in the sixteenth century, in the year

1530

Gunpowder invented, by one Bertholdus, a German monk, in the fourteenth century, in the year

1380

Printing invented, at Haerlem in Holland, or at Strasbourg, or at Mentz in Germany, in the fifteenth century, about the year

1440

After giving his pupil distinct ideas of history, geography, and chronology, the earl of Chesterfield proceeds to speak of oratory and poetry.

“ The business of oratory,”—observes he,—“ is to persuade people; and you

easily feel, that to please people, is a great step towards persuading them. You must then, consequently, be sensible how advantageous it is for a man, who speaks in public, whether it be in parliament, in the pulpit, or at the bar, (that is, in the courts of law) to please his hearers so much as to gain their attention: which he can never do, without the help of oratory. It is not enough to speak the language he speaks in in its utmost purity, and according to the rules of grammar; but he must speak it elegantly; that is, he must chuse the best and most expressive words, and put them in the best order. He should likewise adorn what he says by proper metaphors, similies, and other figures of rhetoric; and he should enliven it, if he can, by quick and sprightly turns of wit. For example; suppose you had a mind to persuade Mr. Maittaire (the boy's schoolmaster) to give you a holyday, would you bluntly say to him, Give me a holyday? That would certainly not be the way to persuade him to it. But you should endeavour first to please him, and gain his attention, by telling him, that your experience of his goodness and indulgence encouraged you to ask a favour of him; that, if he should not think proper to grant it; at least you hoped,



hoped, he would not take it ill, that you asked it. Then you should tell him, what it was that you wanted; that it was a holiday; for which you should give your reasons; as, that you had such or such a thing to do, or such a place to go to. Then, you might urge some arguments why he should not refuse you; as, that you have seldom asked that favour, and that you seldom will; and that the mind may sometimes require a little rest from labour, as well as the body. This you may illustrate by a simile, and say, that as the bow is the stronger, for being sometimes unstrung and unbent; so the mind will be capable of more attention, for being now and then easy and relaxed."

"Though poetry,"—continues he,—  
 "differs much from oratory in many things; yet it makes use of the same figures of rhetoric; nay it abounds in metaphors, similes, and allegories; and you may learn the purity of the language, and the ornaments of eloquence, as well by reading verse as prose. Poetical diction, that is, poetical language, is more sublime and lofty than prose, and takes liberties which are not allowed in prose, and are called Poetical Licences. This difference between verse and prose you will easily observe, if you read them both with at-

tention. In verse, things are seldom said plainly and simply, as one would say them in prose ; but they are described and embellished : as for example ; what you hear the watchman say often in three words, *a cloudy morning*, is said thus in verse, in the tragedy of Cato :

- ‘ The dawn is overcast, the morning lowers,
- ‘ And heavily in clouds brings on the day.’

This is poetical diction ; which would be improper in prose, though each word separately may be used in prose.

“ I will give you, here, a very pretty copy of verses of Mr. Waller’s, which is extremely poetical, and full of images. It is to a lady who played upon the lute. The lute, by the way, is an instrument with many strings, which are played upon by the fingers.

- ‘ Such moving sounds from such a careless touch,
- ‘ So little she concern’d, and we so much.
- ‘ The trembling strings about her fingers croud,
- ‘ And tell their joy, for every kiss, aloud.
- ‘ Small force there needs to make them tremble so,
- ‘ Touch’d by that hand, who would not tremble too?
- ‘ Here Love takes stand, and while she charms the ear,
- ‘ Empties his quiver on the list’ning deer.
- ‘ Music so softens and disarms the mind,
- ‘ That not one arrow can resistance find.
- ‘ Thus the fair tyrant celebrates the prize,
- ‘ And acts herself the triumph of her eyes.
- ‘ So Nero once, with harp in hand, survey’d
- ‘ His flaming Rome : and as it burnt, he play’d.’

“ Mind

“ Mind all the poetical beauties of these verses. He supposes the sounds of the strings, when she touches them, to be the expression of their joy for kissing her fingers. Then, he compares the trembling of the strings to the trembling of a lover, who is supposed to tremble with joy and awe, when touched by the person he loves. He represents love (who, you know, is described as a little boy, with a bow, arrows, and a quiver) as standing by her, and shooting his arrows at people’s hearts, while her music softens and disarms them. Then he concludes with that fine simile of Nero, a very cruel Roman emperor, who set Rome on fire, and played on the harp all the while it was burning: for, as love is represented by the Poets as fire and flames; so she, while people were burning for love of her, played, as Nero did while Rome, which he had set on fire, was burning.

“ You will observe, that these verses are all long, or heroic verses, that is, of ten syllables, or five feet; for a foot is two syllables.” [His lordship is here mistaken; for a foot, even in English verse, often consists of three syllables.]

Having already given a general idea of oratory and poetry, his Lordship proceeds

to a more particular consideration of poetry ; in which he appears to have been very fond that his son should excell, till he found that the boy's genius did not lie that way. At any rate, it is certainly well calculated to induce an early habit of thinking. " You should begin to consider," says he, " not only the measure of the verses you read, but likewise the thoughts of the poet, and the similies, metaphors, and allusions, which are the ornaments of poetry, and raise it above prose, and distinguish it from prose, as much as the measure does. This attention to the thoughts and diction of other poets, will suggest both matter, and the manner of expressing it, to you, when you come to invent, yourself. Thoughts are the same in every language, and a good thought in one language is a good one in every other : thus, if you attend to the thoughts and images in French or English poetry, they will be of use to you, when you compose in Latin or Greek. I have met lately with a very pretty copy of English verses, which I here send you to learn by heart ; but first, I will give you the thought in prose, that you may observe how it is expressed, and adorned by poetical diction.

The

" The poet tells his mistress, Florella, that she is so unkind to him, she will not even suffer him to look at her ; that, to avoid her cruelty, he addresses himself to other women, who receive him kindly ; but that, notwithstanding this, his heart always returns to her, though she uses him so ill ; and then he concludes with this beautiful and apt simile, in which he compares his fate to that of exiles (that is, people who are banished from their own country) who, though they are pitied in whatever country they go to, yet long to return to their own, where they are sure to be used ill, and punished.

Why will Florella, when I gaze,  
 My ravish'd eyes reprove,  
 And hide from them the only face,  
 They can behold with love ?

To shun her scorn, and ease my care,  
 I seek a nymph more kind,  
 And while I rove from fair to fair,  
 Still gentler usage find.

But oh ! how faint is every joy,  
 Where Nature has no part !  
 New beauties may my eyes employ,  
 But you engage my heart.

So restless exiles, doom'd to roam,	} The Simile.
Meet pity every where ;	
Yet languish for their native home,	
Though death attends them there.	

“ You will observe that these verses have alternate rhymes ; that is, the third line rhymes to the first, and the fourth line to the second ; the first and third lines having four feet each , and the second and fourth having but three feet each.”

He continues his observations on poetry thus :

“ Poets have greater liberties allowed them than prose writers, which is called the *poetical licence*. Horace says, that poets and painters have an equal privilege of attempting any thing. *Pictoribus atque Poetis, quidlibet audendi, semper fuit æqua potestas*. Fiction, that is, invention, is said to be the soul of poetry. For example ; the poets give life to several inanimate things ; that is, to things that have no life : as for instance ; they represent the passions, as love, fury, envy, &c. under human figures ; which figures are allegorical ; that is, represent the qualities and effects of those passions. Thus the poets represent love as a little boy, called Cupid, because love is the passion of young people chiefly. He is represented blind



blind likewise; because love makes no distinction, and takes away the judgment. He has a bow and arrows, with which he is supposed to wound people, because love gives pain: and he has a pair of wings to fly with; because love is changeable, and apt to fly from one object to another. Fury likewise is represented under the figures of three women, called the three furies; *Alecto*, *Megæra*, and *Tisiphone*. They are described with lighted torches or flambeaux in their hands; because rage and fury is for setting fire to every thing: they are likewise drawn, with serpents hissing about their heads; because serpents are poisonous and destructive animals. Envy is described as a woman, melancholy, pale, livid, and pining; because envious people are never pleased, but always repining at other people's happiness: she is supposed to feed upon serpents; because envious people only comfort themselves with the misfortunes of others."

He next defines taste, and exemplifies it, as connected with invention or genius, in elegant description:

"Taste, in its proper signification," says he, "means the taste of the palate in eating or drinking; but it is metaphorically used for the judgment one forms

forms of any art or science. For example ; if I say such a man has a good taste in poetry, I mean that he judges well of poetry, and distinguishes rightly what is good and what is bad ; and finds out equally the beauties and the faults of the composition. Or if I say, that such a man has a good taste in painting, I mean the same thing ; which is, that he is a good judge of pictures ; and will distinguish not only good ones from bad ones, but very good ones from others not quite so good, but yet good ones. *Avoir le goût bon*, means the same thing in French : and nothing forms so true a taste, as the reading the ancient authors with attention."

" Description is a beautiful part of poetry, and much used by the best poets ; it is likewise called painting, because it represents things in so lively and strong a manner, that we think we see them as in a picture. Thus Ovid describes the palace of the sun, or Apollo.

*Régia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,  
Clara micante auro, flammæque imitante pyropo.  
Cujus ebur nitidum fastigia summa tenebat :  
Argenti bifores radiabant lumine valvæ,  
Materiem superabat opus : nam Mulciber illic  
Æquora cælarat medias cingentia terras,  
Terrarumque orbem, cælumque quod imminet orbi.*

After-

“ Afterwards he describes Phœbus himself, sitting upon his throne.

————— *Purpureâ velatus veste sedebat  
In Solio Phœbus, claris lucente smaragdis.  
A dextrâ lævâque Dies, et Mensis, et Annus,  
Sæculaue et positæ spatiis æqualibus Horæ;  
Verque novum stabat, cinctum florente coronâ,  
Stabat nuda Æstas, et spicea ferta gerebat,  
Stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis,  
Et glacialis Hyems, canos hirsuta capillos.*

“ Observe the invention in this description. As the sun is the great rule by which we measure time; and as it marks out the years, the months, the days, and the seasons; so Ovid has represented Phœbus upon his throne, as the principal figure, attended by the years, days, months, and seasons, which he likewise represents as so many persons. This is properly invention, and invention is the soul of poetry. Poets have their name, upon that account, from the Greek word ποιέω, which signifies, to make, or invent.

“ I mentioned, in my last,” continues he, “ description, or painting, as one of the shining marks or characteristics of poetry. The likeness must be strong and lively; and make us almost think, that we see the thing before our eyes. Thus the following description of hunger, or  
famine,

famine, in Ovid, is so striking, that one thinks one sees some poor famished wretch.

——— *Famem lapidoso vidit in agro,  
Unguibus et raras vellentem dentibus herbas,  
Hirtus erat crinis, cava lumina, pallor in ore,  
Labra incana situ, scabræ rubigine fauces,  
Dura cutis, per quam spectari viscera possent :  
Ossa sub incurvis extabant arida lumbis :  
Ventris erat pro ventre locus : pendere putares  
Pectus, et a spinæ tantummodo crate teneri.*

Observe the propriety and significancy of the epithets. *Lapidofo* is the epithet to *agro* ; because a stony ground produces very little grass. *Raras* is the epithet to *herbas*, to mark how few and how scarce the herbs were, that famine was tearing with her teeth and nails. You will easily find out the other epithets.

“ I will now give you an excellent piece of painting, or description, in English verse ; it is in the tragedy of Phædra and Hippolytus.

So when *bright* Venus yielded up her charms,  
The *blest* Adonis languish'd in her arms.  
His *idle* horn on *fragrant* myrtles hung ;  
His arrows *scattered*, and his bow *unstrung*.  
Obscure, in coverts, lie his *dreaming* hounds,  
And bay the *fancied* boar with feeble sounds.  
For nobler sports he quits the *savage* fields,  
And all the hero to the lover yields.

“ I have marked the epithets, that you may the better observe them. Venus is called

called *bright*, upon account of her beauty : Adonis is called *blest*, because Venus was in love with him : his horn is said to be *idle*, because he then laid it by, and made no use of it : the myrtles are called *fragrant*, because the myrtle is a sweet-smelling tree ; moreover, the myrtle is the particular tree sacred to Venus : *scattered* arrows, because laid by here and there, carelessly. The bow *unstrung* : it was the custom to unstring the bow when they did not use it, and it was the stronger for it afterwards. *Dreaming* hounds : hounds that are used to hunt, often dream they are hunting ; as appears by their making the same noise, only not so loud, when they sleep, as they do when they are hunting some wild beast ; therefore, the sounds are called *feeble*. *Savage* fields ; so called from the roughness of field sports, in comparison to the tenderness and softness of love.

“ But it is not the words only that you should mind,” adds he, “ but the sense and beauties of the authors you read ; which will furnish you with matter, and teach you to think justly upon subjects. For example ; if you were to say, in poetry, that it was morning, you would not barely say it was morning ; that would not be poetical : but you

would represent the morning under some image, or by description ; as thus :

Lo! from the *rosy* east, her *purple* doors  
The morn unfolds, adorn'd with *blushing* flowers ;  
The *lessen'd* stars draw off and disappear,  
Whose *bright* battalions, lastly, Lucifer  
Brings up, and quits his station in the rear. }

Observe, that the day always rises in the east ; and therefore it is said, from the *rosy* east : *rosy* is the epithet to east ; because the break of day, or the Aurora, is of a reddish *rosy* colour. Observe too, that Lucifer is the name of that star that disappears the last in the morning ; for the astronomers have given names to most of the stars. The three last lines, which have the same rhymes, are called a triplet, which is always marked as I have marked it. The original Latin is thus in Ovid.

————— *Ecce vigil rutilo patefecit ab ortu*  
*Purpureas Aurora fores, et plena rosarum*  
*Atria. Diffugiunt stellæ, quarum agmina cogit*  
*Lucifer, et cæli statione novissimus exit.*

Here is another way of saying that it is morning, as Virgil expresses it :

*Et jam prima novo spargebat lumine terras*  
*Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile :*  
*Jam sole infuso, jam rebus luce relictis.*

Thus in English verse :

And now Aurora, harbinger of day,  
Rose from the *saffron* bed where Tithon lay,  
And sprinkled o'er the world with *new-born* light :  
The sun now shining, all things brought to sight.



“ Tithon was the husband of Aurora. Aurora, in poetical language, means the break of day, or the first part of the morning. Harbinger (by the way) means forerunner, or a person who is sent beforehand, by another, upon a journey, to prepare things for him. The King has several harbingers, that go before him upon the road, to prepare his lodging, and get every thing ready. So Aurora, or the morning, is called, by a metaphor, the harbinger of day, because it foreruns the day.”

A happier method was perhaps never devised for forming the mind of youth. He prosecutes his subject thus :

“ The noon, or mid-day, that is twelve o’clock, is thus described by Ovid :

*Fecerat exiguas jam Sol altissimus umbras.*

And in another place,

*Jamque dies rerum medias contraxerat umbras,  
Et Sol ex æquo, metâ distabat utrâque :*

Because the sun, at noon, is exactly in the middle of its course, and, being then just perpendicular over our heads, makes the shadows very short ; whereas, when the sun shines on either side of us, (as it does mornings and evenings) the shadows are very long ; which you may observe any sun-

sun-shiny day that you please. The evening is described thus, by Ovid :

*Jam labor exiguus Phœbo restabat : equique  
Pulsabant pedibus spatium declivis Olympi :*

Because the course of the sun, being supposed to be of one day, Phœbus (that is the sun) is here said to have little more remaining business to do ; and his horses are represented as going down hill ; which points out the evening ; the sun, in the evening, seeming to go downwards. In another place he says,

*Jamque dies exactus erat, tempusque subibat,  
Quod tu nec tenebras, nec possis dicere lucem :*

For, in the dusk of the evening, one can neither call it day nor night.

Night is described by Virgil in this manner :

*Nox erat, et terras animalia fusa per omnes ;  
Alituum, Pecudumque genus, sopor altus habebat.*

“ What I mean, by sending and explaining these things to you, (as I have said before) is to use you to think and reflect a little yourself ; and not to repeat words only, like a parrot, without minding or knowing the sense and import of them. For example ; when you read a description of any thing, compare it with your own observations ; and ask yourself this question, Is this so ? Have I ever observed it before ? And, if you have  
not

not observed it, take the first opportunity you can of doing it. For instance ; if you have not already observed, that the shadows are long in the morning and the evening, and short at noon, try it yourself, and see whether it is true or not. When you hear of the *rosy morn*, consider with yourself why it is so called, and whether it ought to be called so or not ; and observe the morning early, to see if it is not of a reddish, rosy colour. When you hear of night's spreading its sable (that is black) wings over the world, consider whether the gradual spreading of the darkness does not extend itself in the sky like black wings. In short, use yourself to think and reflect upon every thing you hear and see : examine every thing, and see whether it is true or not, without taking it upon trust. For example ; if you should find, in any author, *the blue or azure sun*, would you not immediately reflect, that could not be just ; for the sun is always red ? and that he who could call it so must be either blind, or a fool."

Having in this manner taught his pupil to distinguish the propriety and impropriety of natural things, his lordship proceeds to the moral distinctions.

" When you read historical facts," says he, " think of them within yourself, and compare

compare them with your own notions. For example ; when you read of the first Scipio, who, when he conquered Spain, took a beautiful Spanish princess prisoner, who was soon to have been married to a prince of that country, and returned her to her lover, not only untouched, but giving her a fortune besides ; are you not struck with the virtue and generosity of that action ? And can you help thinking with yourself, how virtuous it was in Scipio, who was a young man, unmarried, and a conqueror, to withstand the temptation of beauty ; and how generous it was to give her a fortune, to make amends for the misfortunes of the war ? Another reflection too, that naturally occurs upon it, is, how virtuous actions never fail to be rewarded by the commendation and applause of all posterity : for this happened above eighteen hundred years ago ; is still remembered with honour ; and will be so as long as letters subsist : not to mention the infinite pleasure Scipio must have felt himself, from such a virtuous and heroic action."

To give his son and pupil still more distinct ideas of natural and moral propriety, and likewise to induce a habit of thinking, he proposes a subject of composition

position of each kind, which he illustrates in a most simple and beautiful manner.

“ All you learn, and all you can read,” observes he, “ will be of little use, if you do not think and reason upon it yourself. If night, for example, were given you as a subject to compose upon, you would do very well to look what the best authors have said upon it, in order to help your own invention; but then you must think of it afterwards yourself, and express it in your own manner, or else you would be at best but a plagiarist. A plagiarist is a man who steals other people’s thoughts, and puts them off for his own. You would find, for example, the following account of night in Virgil :

*Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem  
Corpora per terras; sylvaæque et sæva quierant  
Æquora: cum medio voluntur sidera lapsu;  
Cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictæque volucres,  
Quæque lacus latè liquidos, quæque aspera dumis  
Rura tenent; somno positæ sub nocte silenti  
Lenibant curas, et corda oblita laborum.*

“ Here you see the effects of night; that it brings rest to men, when they are wearied with the labours of the day; that the stars move in their regular course; that flocks and birds repose themselves, and enjoy the quiet of the night. This, upon examination, you would find to be all  
VOL. I. G true;

true; but then, upon consideration, too, you would find, that it is not all that is to be said upon night: and many more qualities and effects of night would occur to you. As for instance; though night is in general the time of quiet and repose, yet it is often the time, too, for the commission and security of crimes; such as robberies, murders, and violations; which generally seek the advantage of darkness, as favourable for the escapes of the guilty. Night, too, though it brings rest and refreshment to the innocent and virtuous, brings disquiet and horror to the guilty. The consciousness of their crimes torments them, and denies them sleep and quiet. You might, from these reflections, consider what would be the proper epithets to give to night: as for example; if you were to represent night in its most pleasing shape, as procuring quiet and refreshment from labour and toil, you might call it the *friendly* night, the *silent* night, the *welcome* night, the *peaceful* night: but if, on the contrary, you were to represent it as inviting to the commission of crimes, you would call it, the *guilty* night, the *conscious* night, the *horrid* night; with many other epithets, that carry along with them the idea of horror and guilt: for an epithet to be proper, must always be adapted

(that



(that is, suited) to the circumstances of the person or thing to which it is given."

He continues thus :

" Virtue is a subject that deserves your and every man's attention ; and suppose I were to bid you make some verses, or give me your thoughts in prose, upon the subject of virtue, How would you go about it ? Why you would first consider what virtue is, and then what are the effects and marks of it, both with regard to others and to one's self. You would find, then, that virtue consists in doing good, and in speaking truth ; that the effects of it are advantageous to all mankind, and to one's self in particular. Virtue makes us pity and relieve the misfortunes of mankind ; it makes us promote justice and good order in society ; and, in general, contributes to whatever tends to the real good of mankind. To ourselves it gives an inward comfort and satisfaction, which nothing else can do, and which nothing can rob us of. All other advantages depend upon others, as much as upon ourselves. Riches, power, and greatness may be taken away from us, by the violence and injustice of others, or by inevitable accidents ; but virtue depends only upon ourselves, and nobody can take it away from us. Sicknefs may deprive us of all the pleasures of the  
G 2                      body ;

body ; -but it cannot deprive us of our virtue, nor of the satisfaction which we feel from it. A virtuous man, under all the misfortunes of life, still finds an inward comfort and satisfaction, which makes him happier than any wicked man can be, with all the other advantages of life. If a man has acquired great power and riches by falsehood, injustice, and oppression, he cannot enjoy them ; because his conscience will torment him, and constantly reproach him with the means by which he got them. The stings of his conscience will not even let him sleep quietly ; but he will dream of his crimes : and in the day-time, when alone, and when he has time to think, he will be uneasy and melancholy. He is afraid of every thing ; for, as he knows mankind must hate him, he has reason to think they will hurt him, if they can. Whereas, if a virtuous man be ever so poor, or unfortunate in the world, still his virtue is its own reward, and will comfort him under all afflictions. The quiet and satisfaction of his conscience make him chearful by day, and sleep sound of nights : he can be alone with pleasure, and is not afraid of his own thoughts. Besides this, he is universally esteemed and respected : for even the most wicked people themselves,

cannot

cannot he'p admiring and respecting virtue in others."

Concluding his son, as may be supposed, to have now pretty distinct ideas of elegant composition, of virtue and of vice, the earl of Chesterfield proceeds to give him the rudiments of politeness.

" Learning, honour, and virtue," observes he, " are absolutely necessary to gain you the esteem and admiration of mankind; politeness and good-breeding are equally necessary, to make you welcome and agreeable in conversation, and common life. Great talents, such as honour, virtue, learning, and parts, are above the generality of the world; who neither possess them themselves, nor judge of them rightly in others: but all people are judges of the lesser talents, such as civility, affability, and an obliging, agreeable address and manner; because they feel the good effects of them, as making society easy and pleasing.

" Good-sense must, in many cases, determine good-breeding; because, the same thing that would be civil at one time, and to one person, may be quite otherwise at another time, and to another person; but there are some general rules of good-breeding, that hold always true, and in all cases. As for example; it is always

extremely rude, to answer only yes, or no, to any body, without adding, sir, my lord, or madam, according to the quality of the person you speak to ; as, in French, you must always say *Monsieur, Milord, Madame*, and *Mademoiselle*. I suppose you know that every married woman is, in French, *Madame*, and every unmarried one is *Mademoiselle*. It is likewise extremely rude, not to give the proper attention, and a civil answer, when people speak to you ; or to go away, or be doing something else, while they are speaking to you ; for that convinces them that you despise them, and do not think it worth your while to hear or answer what they say.

“ I dare say I need not tell you how rude it is, to take the best place in a room, or to seize immediately upon what you like at table, without offering first to help others ; as if you considered nobody but yourself. On the contrary, you should always endeavour to procure all the conveniencies you can, to the people you are with.

“ Besides being civil, which is absolutely necessary, the perfection of good-breeding is, to be civil with ease, and in a gentleman-like manner. For this, you should observe the French people ; who excell in it, and whose politeness seems

as

as easy and natural as any other part of their conversation. Whereas the English are often awkward in their civilities, and when they mean to be civil, are too much ashamed to get it out. But, pray, do you remember never to be ashamed of doing what is right: you would have a great deal of reason to be ashamed, if you were not civil; but what reason can you have to be ashamed of being civil? And why not say a civil and an obliging thing, as easy and as naturally, as you would ask what o'clock it is? This kind of bashfulness, which is justly called, by the French, *mauvaise honte*, is the distinguishing character of an English booby; who is frightened out of his wits, when people of fashion speak to him; and, when he is to answer them, blushes, stammers, can hardly get out what he would say; and becomes really ridiculous, from a groundless fear of being laughed at: whereas a real well-bred man would speak to all the kings in the world, with as little concern, and as much ease, as he would speak to you.

“ Remember, then, that to be civil, and to be civil with ease (which is properly called good-breeding) is the only way to be beloved, and well received in company; that to be ill-bred, and rude,

is intolerable, and the way to be kicked out of company ; and that to be bashful, is to be ridiculous."

It would be in vain here to observe, that, as the earl of Chesterfield was one of the greatest masters of politeness that ever lived, his precepts are the most excellent ever published on that subject ; but I cannot help observing, that he seems rather to place too much stress upon external accomplishments. He continues thus :

" I have often told you (and it is most certainly true) that the strictest and most scrupulous honour, and virtue, can alone make you esteemed and valued by mankind ; that parts and learning can alone make you admired and celebrated by them ; but that the possession of lesser talents was most absolutely necessary, towards making you liked, beloved, and sought after in private life. Of these lesser talents, good-breeding is the principal and most necessary one, not only as it is very important in itself ; but as it adds great lustre to the more solid advantages both of the heart and the mind.

" I have touched upon good-breeding to you before ; so that this letter shall be upon the next necessary qualification to it, which is a genteel, easy manner, and carriage, wholly free from those odd tricks,



ill habits, and awkwardnesses, which even many very worthy and sensible people have in their behaviour. However trifling a genteel manner may sound, it is of very great consequence towards pleasing in private life, especially the women; which, one time or other, you will think worth pleasing: and I have known many a man, from his awkwardness, give people such a dislike of him at first, that all his merit cou'd not get the better of it afterwards. Whereas a genteel manner prepossesses people in your favour, bends them towards you, and makes them wish to like you.

“Awkwardness can proceed but from two causes; either from not having kept good company, or from not having attended to it. As for your keeping good company, I will take care of that; do you take care to observe their ways and manners, and to form your own upon them. Attention is absolutely necessary for this, as indeed it is for every thing else; and a man without attention is not fit to live in the world.

“When an awkward fellow first comes into a room, it is highly probable, that his sword gets between his legs, and throws him down, or makes him stumble, at least; when he has recovered this accident, he goes and places himself in the

very place of the whole room where he should not; there he soon lets his hat fall down, and, in taking it up again, throws down his cane; in recovering his cane, his hat falls a second time; so that he is a quarter of an hour before he is in order again. If he drinks tea or coffee, he certainly scalds his mouth, and lets either the cup or the saucer fall, and spills the tea or coffee in his breeches. At dinner, his awkwardness distinguishes itself particularly, as he has more to do: there he holds his knife, fork, and spoon, differently from other people; eats with his knife to the great danger of his mouth, picks his teeth with his fork, and puts his spoon, which has been in his throat twenty times, into the dishes again. If he is to carve, he can never hit the joint; but, in his vain efforts to cut through the bone, scatters the sauce in every body's face. He generally daubs himself with soup and grease, though his napkin is commonly stuck through a button hole, and tickles his chin. When he drinks, he infallibly coughs in his glass, and besprinkles the company. Besides all this, he has strange tricks and gestures; such as snuffing up his nose, making faces, putting his fingers in his nose, or blowing it and looking afterwards in his handkerchief,

chief, so as to make the company sick. His hands are troublesome to him, when he has not something in them, and he does not know where to put them; but they are in perpetual motion between his bolom and his breeches: he does not wear his clothes, and, in short, does nothing like other people. All this, I own, is not in any degree criminal; but it is highly disagreeable and ridiculous in company, and ought most carefully to be avoided, by whoever desires to please.

“ From this account of what you should not do, you may easily judge what you should do; and a due attention to the manners of people of fashion, and who have seen the world, will make it habitual and familiar to you.

“ There is, likewise, an awkwardness of expression and words, most carefully to be avoided; such as false English, bad pronunciation, old sayings, and common proverbs; which are so many proofs of having kept bad and low company. For example; if, instead of saying that ‘tastes are different, and that every man has his own peculiar one,’ you should let off a proverb, and say, that ‘what is one man’s meat is another man’s poison;’ or else, ‘every one as they like, as the good man said when he kissed his cow;’ every body

would be persuaded that you had never kept company with any body above footmen and housemaids.

“ Attention will do all this ; and without attention nothing is to be done : want of attention, which is really want of thought, is either folly or madness. You should not only have attention to every thing, but a quickness of attention, so as to observe, at once, all the people in the room ; their motions, their looks, and their words ; and yet without staring at them, and seeming to be an observer. This quick and unobserved observation is of infinite advantage in life, and is to be acquired with care ; and, on the contrary, what is called absence, which is a thoughtlessness, and want of attention about what is doing, makes a man so like either a fool or a madman, that, for my part, I see no real difference. A fool never has thought ; a madman has lost it ; and an absent man is, for the time, without it.

“ I warned you, in my last,” adds he, “ against those disagreeable tricks and awkwardnesses, which many people contract when they are young, by the negligence of their parents, and cannot get quit of them when they are old ; such as odd motions, strange postures, and un-  
 3 genteel

genteel carriage. But there is likewise an awkwardness of the mind, that ought to be, and with care may be, avoided: as for instance; to mistake or forget names; to speak of Mr. What-d'ye-call-him, or Mrs. Thingum, or How-d'ye-call-her, is excessively awkward and ordinary. To call people by improper titles and appellations is so too; as my Lord, for Sir; and Sir, for my Lord. To begin a story or narration, when you are not perfect in it, and cannot go through with it; but are forced, possibly, to say, in the middle of it, "I have forgot the rest," is very unpleasant and bungling. One must be extremely exact, clear, and perspicuous in every thing one says, otherwise, instead of entertaining or informing others, one only tires and puzzles them.

"The voice and manner of speaking, too, are not to be neglected: some people almost shut their mouths when they speak, and mutter so, that they are not to be understood; others speak so fast, and sputter, that they are not to be understood neither; some always speak as loud as if they were talking to deaf people; and others so low that one cannot hear them. All these habits are awkward and disagreeable, and are to be avoided by attention: they are the distinguishing marks  
of

of the ordinary people, who have had no care taken of their education.

“ You cannot imagine how necessary it is to mind all these little things ; for I have seen many people, with great talents, ill received, for want of having these talents too ; and others well received, only from their little talents, and who had no great ones. It is good-breeding alone that can prepossess people in your favour at first sight : more time being necessary to discover greater talents. This good-breeding, you know, does not consist in low bows and formal ceremony ; but in an easy, civil, and respectful behaviour. I hardly know any thing so difficult to attain, or so necessary to possess, as perfect good-breeding ; which is equally inconsistent with a stiff formality, an impertinent forwardness, and an awkward bashfulness. A little ceremony is often necessary ; a certain degree of firmness is absolutely so ; and an outward modesty is extremely becoming : the knowledge of the world, and your own observations, must, and alone can, tell you the proper quantities of each.”

I shall here conclude what I have taken the liberty to call the *first part* of the system of Education, and proceed with his lordship's life.

CHAP.



## C H A P. V.

*His Lordship's Conduct as Envoy at the Hague, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Secretary of State, with his continued Attention to the Education of his Son.*

THE uniformity of the earl of Chesterfield's conduct, in opposing the measures of the court, under different administrations, in which he might certainly have had a share, had now put his motives beyond dispute. The king, as well as the people, was convinced, that his opposition proceeded from principle ; from a belief that such measures were wrong : his majesty was therefore pleased to appoint him Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the third day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five. In the same month he was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General, and set out immediately for the Hague.

The purpose of this embassy was, to prevail on the Dutch to engage more heartily in the war ; as appears by the credential letter with which his lordship was charged by his Britannic majesty to the States General, of which the following is a copy.

“ *Higb*

*“ High and mighty Lords, our good Friends,  
Allies, and Confederates,*

“ AT a time when the common enemy is doing its utmost endeavours to advance the fatal projects of an unbounded ambition, by overturning the balance of power in Europe, and by endeavouring to impose an intire and insupportable dependence both to your republic and our crown ; we have thought proper to give you a fresh and distinguishing proof of our affection, by sending to you, as our Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, our most faithful and well-beloved cousin and counsellor, Philip Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Lieutenant of our kingdom of Ireland. After having fully acquainted him with our sentiments, we charged him to regulate every thing with you that may be necessary for the support of our mutual interest. We have also authorized him, to consult both with the ministers and generals of your state, and with those of the other allies, about what is necessary to be done, in order to obtain, as soon as possible, a good and solid peace, by carrying on the war with vigour.

“ We therefore hope, that you will receive our said ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary with cordiality and  
distinction,

distinction, and that he will find you disposed to second our intentions, full of love and confidence for your republic, by uniting your forces and your interests, without reserve, to ours, by an intire and unlimited accomplishment of the treaties which link you inseparably with us; desiring you, as to the rest, to lend a favourable ear to our said ambassâdor, and give entire credit to every thing he shall represent to you on our part.

“ We repeat to you the strongest assurances of a friendship, esteem, and affection, which will never cease; and we pray God to keep you, High and mighty Lords, our good friends, allies, and confederates, under his holy protection.—

Given at our court, at St. James’s, January the ninth, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, and the eighteenth year of our reign.

“ Your very good friend,

“ GEORGE R.” *2<sup>nd</sup>*

How faithfully the earl of Chesterfield executed his charge, will appear by the following elegant and public-spirited Memorial, which he delivered to the deputies of the States General (the eighteenth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and

and forty five) on taking leave of their High Mightinesses.

*“ High and mighty Lords,*

“ The king my master, in permitting me to return to England, has given me express orders to renew to your high mightinesses the strongest assurances of his esteem and friendship.

“ It is happy for me, that so honourable a commission lays so easy a duty on me.

“ As a faithful interpreter of the sentiments of a sincere friendship, I shall beware of borrowing the flattering expressions which a feigned friendship wants to set itself off with.

“ Let crafty policy employ the most seducing artifices to cover its ambitious designs; let it put every spring in motion to deceive your confidence, or at least lull you into fatal security: true friendship, such as that which unites the king my master with your High Mightinesses, despises those artifices, and abhors those indirect means; it is simple, and its language is the same.

“ The close union of the two nations is neither the effect of some transient views, nor the fruit of accidental conjectures, but a right consequence

consequence of our reciprocal and invariable interests. Nature pointed it out to us, in placing us as she has done; and the uninterrupted experience of almost a century, does not permit us to be ignorant that our mutual prosperity depends on our union. This truth is so indisputable, that we ought to look upon as our common enemies, all those who presume to call it in question.

“ Vicinity is to most nations nothing else but a fatal source of jealousy and discord; whereas we have the singular happiness of being neighbours in a manner fit to procure us infinite advantages, without a possibility of any distrust or umbrage arising therefrom, if we do not forget our grand interests.

“ Such are the king’s notions; and, by what I have observed myself, I shall dare to assure him, that your High Mightinesses are in the same way of thinking. Who can be ignorant of it?—Our allies know it; our enemies feel it. Europe has already often reaped the precious fruits of our harmony: what ought it not yet to expect from it?

“ The love of liberty, which founded this republic, and has since so often signalized her; this so noble and generous love,

love, still unites your strength and your councils to those of the king my master. Actuated by the same spirit, and aiming at the same end, the sole object of your efforts is to restore and secure the public liberty and tranquillity. What design more laudable!—What work more worthy of a great and magnanimous zeal!—Pursue, High and Mighty Lords, this design with your wonted steadiness and wisdom; continue those efforts, without suffering yourselves to be discouraged: and may Heaven crown your enterprizes with the success they deserve!

“ As for what relates to myself, High and Mighty Lords, nothing more pleasing could have happened to me, than being charged for the second time with the king’s orders near your High Mightinesses; especially in an occasion where the business was to concert means to perform the engagements which I contributed to form some years ago.

“ I shall never forget the kind reception I met with then, and at present, from your High Mightinesses; and my gratitude will end but with my days: but, if your High Mightinesses will vouchsafe to remember me, view me, high and mighty lords, only on the side of my sincere zeal for  
the



the common good of both nations; my respectful veneration for your government; and, if I may presume to use the expression, my tender attachment to this republic.

*Done at the Hague,  
May 18, 1745.*

CHESTERFIELD."

On his majesty's going abroad in the same year, one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, the earl of Chesterfield was declared one of the Lords Justices for the administration of the government in his absence: but his lordship's presence being wanted in Ireland, he set out for his viceroyship, and landed at Dublin in the latter end of the month of August; where he was received with the loudest acclamations of joy, and congratulated by the lord mayor, aldermen, and corporations in their formalities, the recorder, in their name, expressing a sense of his abilities, merit, and integrity. His lordship opened the session of parliament, on the eighth day of October following, with an eloquent and beautiful speech, admirably adapted to the circumstances of the times.

*The*

*The SPEECH of his Excellency PHILIP  
Earl of CHESTERFIELD, Lord Lieutenant  
General and General Governor of Ireland,  
to both Houses of Parliament, at Dublin,  
on Tuesday, Oct. 8, 1745.*

*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,*

*“ I AM honoured with the king’s commands to meet you here in parliament, and to co operate with you in whatever may tend to establish, or promote the true interest of this kingdom.*

*“ His majesty’s tender concern for all his subjects, and your zeal and duty for him, have mutually been too long experienced for me now to represent the one, or recommend the other.*

*“ Your own reflections will best suggest to you the advantages you have enjoyed under a succession of protestant princes, by principle inclined, and by legal authority enabled to preserve and protect you ; as your own history, and even the experience of some alive among you, will best paint the miseries and calamities of a people scourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal and lawless power.*

*“ These considerations must necessarily excite your highest indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to disturb*

disturb his majesty's government, by a Pretender to his crown: one nursed up in civil and religious error; formed to persecution and oppression, in the seat of superstition and tyranny; whose groundless claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and constitutions of these kingdoms; whose only hopes of support are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general; and whose success would consequently destroy your liberty, your property, and your religion. But this success is little to be feared, his majesty's subjects giving daily and distinguished proofs of their zeal for the support of his government, and the defence of his person; and a considerable number of national troops, together with six thousand Dutch, cheerfully furnished to his majesty by his good allies the States General, being now upon their march to Scotland; a force more than sufficient to check the progress, and chastise the insolence of a rebellious and undisciplined multitude.

“ The measures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of popery have, I hope, had some, and will still have, a greater effect: however, I leave it to your consideration, whether nothing further can be done, either by new laws,  
or

or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure this nation against the great number of papists; whose speculative errors would only deserve pity, if their pernicious influence upon civil society did not both require and authorise restraint.

*“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you the several accounts and estimates, and I have the pleasure of acquainting you, that I have nothing to ask but the usual and necessary supplies for the support of the establishment.

“ The king having thought it necessary, at this time, to send for two battalions more from hence, has ordered, that, immediately upon their landing in England, they shall be put upon the British establishment; and that the supplemental increase of regular forces, for your defence here, shall be made in the least expensive manner, by additional companies only; after which augmentation, the number of troops will still be within the usual military establishment.

*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ It is with the greatest satisfaction that I hear of the present flourishing state of  
your

your linen manufacture, and I most earnestly recommend to you the care and improvement of so valuable a branch of your trade ; let not this prosperity produce negligence ; and let it never be supposed to be brought to its utmost extent or perfection. Trade has always been the best support of all nations, and the principal care of the wisest.

“ I persuade myself, that the business of this session will be carried on with that temper and unanimity which a true and unbiassed regard for the public naturally produces, and which the present state of affairs more particularly demands. For my own part, I make you no professions ; you will, you ought to judge of me, only by my actions.”

Both houses, in consequence of this speech, agreed upon very loyal addresses to his majesty, expressing their utmost indignation at, and abhorrence of the rebellion in Scotland, and promising to stand by his majesty with their lives and fortunes ; and by his lordship's vigilance, and prudent administration, which was universally admired, all was kept quiet in Ireland. He was indeed so much esteemed there, that most or all the chief cities in that kingdom entered into associations for the defence of the reigning family.

But, amidst all this multiplicity of business, the earl of Chesterfield still found time to attend to the education of his son, as appears by the following letters ; which, as they appear to have but a remote connection with the general system, I shall give in this place :—and, the better to shew his lordship’s paternal affection, I shall prefix the date to each.

Dublin Castle, Nov. 19, 1745.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ NOW, that the Christmas breaking-up draws near, I have ordered Mr. Desnoyers to go to you, during that time, to teach you to dance. I desire you will particularly attend to the graceful motion of your arms ; which, with the manner of putting on your hat, and giving your hand, is all that a gentleman need attend to. Dancing in itself a very trifling, silly thing ; but it is one of those established follies to which people of sense are sometimes obliged to conform ; and then they should be able to do it well. And, though I would not have you a dancer, yet, when you do dance, I would have you dance well, as I would have you do every thing, you do, well. There is no one thing so trifling, but which (if it is to be done at all



all) ought to be done well. And I have often told you, that I wished you even played at pitch, and cricket, better than any boy at Westminster. For instance; dress is a very foolish thing; and yet it is a very foolish thing for a man not to be well dressed, according to his rank and way of life; and it is so far from being a disparagement to any man's understanding, that it is rather a proof of it, to be as well dressed as those whom he lives with. The difference in this case, between a man of sense and a fop is, that the fop values himself upon his dress; and the man of sense laughs at it, at the same time that he knows he must not neglect it. There are a thousand foolish customs of this kind, which, not being criminal, must be complied with, and even cheerfully, by men of sense. Diogenes the cynic was a wise man for despising them; but a fool for shewing it. Be wiser than other people, if you can; but do not tell them so. Good night."

Dublin Castle, Feb. 8, 1746.

" SIR,

" I have been honoured with two letters from you, since I troubled you with my last; and I have likewise received a

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letter

letter from Mr. Morel, containing a short, but beautiful manuscript, said to be yours; but, I confess, I can hardly believe it, because it is so very different from your common writing; and I will not suppose that you do not always write as well as you can; for to do any thing ill, that one can do well, is a degree of negligence, which I can never suspect you of. I always applauded your laudable ambition of excelling in every thing you attempted; and therefore make no doubt but that you will, in a little time, be able to write full as well as the person (whoever he was) that wrote that manuscript, which is said to be yours. People like you have a contempt for mediocrity, and are not satisfied with escaping censure; they aim at praise, and, by desiring, seldom fail deserving and acquiring it.

“ You propose, I find, Demosthenes for your model; and you have chosen very well: but remember the pains he took to be what he was. He spoke near the sea, in storms, both to use himself to speak loud, and not to be disturbed by the noise and tumult of public assemblies; he put stones in his mouth, to help his elocution, which naturally was not advantageous: from which facts I conclude, that, whenever he spoke, he opened both his  
lips

lips and his teeth ; and that he articulated every word and every syllable distinctly, and full loud enough to be heard the whole length of my library.

“ As he took so much pains for the graces of oratory only, I conclude he took still more for the more solid parts of it. I am apt to think he applied himself extremely, to the propriety, the purity, and the elegance of his language ; to the distribution of the parts of his oration ; to the force of his arguments ; to the strength of his proofs ; and to the passions, as well as the judgments of his audience. I fancy he began with an *exordium*, to gain the good opinion and the affections of his audience ; that afterwards he stated the point in question, briefly, but clearly ; that he then brought his proofs, afterwards his arguments ; and that he concluded with a *peroratio*, in which he recapitulated the whole succinctly, enforced the strong parts ; and artfully slipped over the weak ones ; and at last made his strong push at the passions of his hearers. Wherever you would persuade or prevail, address yourself to the passions ; it is by them that mankind is to be taken. Cesar bid his soldiers, at the battle of Pharsalia, aim at the faces of Pompey’s men ; they did so, and prevailed. I bid you strike at

the passions; and if you do, you too will prevail. If you can once engage people's pride, love, pity, ambition (or whichever is their prevailing passion) on your side, you need not fear what their reason can do against you.

Your, &c."

Dublin Castle, March 10, 1746.

SIR,

" I most thankfully acknowledge the honour of two or three letters from you, since I troubled you with my last; and am very proud of the repeated instances you give me of your favour and protection, which I shall endeavour to deserve.

" I am very glad you went to hear a trial in the Court of King's Bench, and still more so, that you made the proper animadversions upon the inattention of many of the people in the Court. As you observed, very well, the indecency of that inattention, I am sure you will never be guilty of any thing like it yourself. There is no surer sign in the world of a little, weak mind, than inattention. Whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well; and nothing can be done well without attention. It is the sure answer of a fool, when you ask him about any thing that was said or done, where he was present,  
that

that, “truly he did not mind it:” And why did not the fool mind it? What had he else to do there, but to mind what was doing? A man of sense sees, hears, and retains every thing that passes where he is.

“I desire I may never hear you talk of not minding, nor complain, as most fools do, of a treacherous memory. Mind, not only what people say, but how they say it; and, if you have any sagacity, you may discover more truth by your eyes than by your ears. People can say what they will, but they cannot look just as they will: and their looks frequently discover, what their words are calculated to conceal. Observe, therefore, people’s looks carefully, when they speak, not only to you, but to each other. I have often guessed, by people’s faces, what they were saying, though I could not hear one word they said. The most material knowledge of all, I mean the knowledge of the world, is never to be acquired without great attention; and I know many old people, who, though they have lived long in the world, are but children still as to the knowledge of it, from their levity and inattention. Certain forms, which all people comply with, and certain arts, which all people aim at, hide in some degree, the truth, and give a general exterior resem-

blance to almost every body. Attention and sagacity must see through that veil, and discover the natural character.

“ You are of an age, now, to reflect, to observe and compare characters, and to arm yourself against the common arts, at least, of the world. If a man, with whom you are but barely acquainted, to whom you have made no offers, nor given any marks of friendship, makes you, on a sudden, strong professions of his, receive them with civility, but do not repay them with confidence; he certainly means to deceive you; for one man does not fall in love with another at sight. If a man uses strong protestations or oaths, to make you believe a thing, which is of itself so likely and probable, that the bare saying of it would be sufficient, depend upon it he lies, and is highly interested in making you believe it; or else he would not take so much pains.

“ In about five weeks, I propose having the honour of laying myself at your feet; which I hope to find grown longer than they were when I left them. Adieu.

The pompous pleasantry with which this letter concludes, unriddles the mystery of the solemn *Sir*, with which it and the foregoing are introduced.

April



April the 5th, 1746.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ Before it is very long, I am of opinion, that you will both think and speak more favourably of women than you do now. You seem to think, that, from Eve downwards, they have done a great deal of mischief. As for that Lady, I give her up to you; but, since her time, history will inform you, that men have done much more mischief in the world than women; and to say the truth, I would not advise you to trust either, more than is absolutely necessary. But this I will advise you to, which is, never to attack whole bodies of any kind; for besides that all general rules have their exceptions, you unnecessarily make yourself a great number of enemies, by attacking a *corps* collectively. Among women, as among men, there are good as well as bad, and it may be, full as many, or more, good than among men. This rule holds as to lawyers, soldiers, parsons, courtiers, citizens, &c. they are all men, subject to the same passions and sentiments, differing only in the manner, according to their several educations; and it would be as imprudent as unjust to attack any of

them by the lump. Individuals forgive sometimes; but bodies and societies never do. Many young people think it very genteel and witty to abuse the Clergy; in which they are extremely mistaken; since, in my opinion, parsons are very like men, and neither the better nor the worse for wearing a black gown. All general reflections, upon nations and societies, are the trite, thread-bare jokes of those who set up for wit without having any, and so have recourse to common-place. Judge of individuals from your own knowledge of them, and not from their sex, profession, or denomination.

“ Though, at my return, which, I hope, will be very soon, I shall not find your feet lengthened, I hope I shall find your head a good deal so, and then I shall not much mind your feet. In two or three months after my return, you and me shall part for some time: you must go to read men, as well as books, of all languages and nations. Observation and reflections will then be very necessary for you. We will talk this matter over fully when we meet; which, I hope, will be in the last week of this month; till when, I have the honour of being

Your most faithful servant.”

On

On the eleventh day of April, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-six, his lordship having given his assent to several acts very conducive to the welfare of the kingdom of Ireland, concluded the session of parliament with the following excellent speech from the throne.

*“ My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ The business of the session being now concluded, I believe, you cannot be unwilling to return to your respective counties; as you must be sensible, that the many good laws which you have passed will receive an additional weight by your authority in executing, and by your example in observing them.

“ The almost unprecedented temper and unanimity with which you have carried on the public business, your unshaken fidelity to the king, your inviolable attachment to the present happy constitution, and your just indignation of the attempts lately made to subvert it, will advantageously distinguish this session in the journals of parliament; and the concurrent zeal and active loyalty, of all his majesty's protestant subjects of all denominations, throughout this kingdom, prove at once how sensible and how deserving they are of his care and protection.

*Even*

Even those deluded people, who scarcely acknowledge his government, seem, by their conduct, tacitly to have confessed the advantages they enjoy under it. At my return to his majesty's presence, I shall not fail most faithfully to report these truths; since the most faithful will be, at the same time, the most favourable representation.

“ The rebellion, which rather disturbed than endangered the king's government, has been defeated, though not yet totally suppressed: but as those flagitious parricides, who were abandoned enough to avow, and desperate enough to engage in the cause of popery and tyranny have already been repulsed and pursued by the valour of his royal highness the Duke, there is the strongest room to believe, that he will soon complete the work which he has so gloriously begun, and restore the tranquility of the kingdom. This attempt therefore to shake his majesty's throne, will serve to establish it the more firmly; since all Europe must now know the unanimous zeal and affection of his subjects for the defence and support of his person and government; and those hopes are at last extinguished with which the Pretender has so long flattered, and, as it now appears, at last deceived himself.

Even

Even the powers, who encouraged him to the attempt, must convince him, that he has now been, what he ever will be, only the occasional tool of their politicks, not the real object of their care.

“ *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

“ I have the king’s commands to thank you, in his name, for the unanimity and dispatch with which you have granted the necessary supplies for the support of the establishment. You may depend upon their being applied with the utmost exactness and frugality.

“ I must not omit my own acknowledgments for the particular confidence you have placed in me, by leaving to my care and management the great sum that you voluntary voted for national arms, and for fortifying the harbour of Corke. The considerable saving which will appear upon those two articles, as well in the interest upon the loan, as in the application of the principal, will, I hope prove that I have been truly sensible of the trust reposed in me.

“ The assistance which you have given to the protestant charter-schools is a most prudent, as well as a most compassionate charity; and I do very earnestly  
recommend

recommend to your constant protection and encouragement that excellent institution by which such a considerable number of unhappy children are annually rescued from the misery that always, and the guilt that commonly accompanies uninstructed poverty and idleness.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

“ Though Great Britain has, in the course of this century, been often molested by insurrections at home and invasions from abroad, this kingdom has happily, and deservedly, enjoyed that uninterrupted tranquility which trade and manufactures, arts and sciences, require for their improvement and perfection. Nature too has been peculiarly favourable to this country, whose temperate climate and fruitful soil so invite, and would reward, care and industry. Let me, therefore, most seriously recommend to you, in your private as well as in your public capacities, the utmost attention to those important objects, which at once enrich, strengthen, and adorn a nation. They will flourish, where they are cultivated; and they are always best cultivated by the indulgence, the encouragement, and above all by the example of persons of superior rank.

“ I cannot



“ I cannot conclude without repeating my heartiest thanks to you for your kind addresses, in which you express your approbation of my conduct. My duty to the king, who wishes the interest and happiness of all his subject, called for my utmost endeavours to promote yours; and my inclinations conspired with my duty. These sentiments shall, I assure you, be the only motives of all my actions, of which your interest must consequently be the only object.”

Immediately after closing the session, the earl of Chesterfield set out for London, where he arrived the thirteenth of April; soon after which he sent his son abroad, as he had intimated in his last letter, and went to Bath himself for the benefit of his health. His letters to his dear boy grew now more frequent and important; but as they soon met with a temporary interruption, I shall pursue the same method, which I did with regard to those from Dublin, though they have certainly a more intimate relation to the general system. That relation however is not sufficiently intimate to entitle them to be considered as part of it: I shall therefore retain the dates and other particulars illustrative of his lordship's life.

Bath,

Bath, Sept. 29, O. S. 1746.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ I received by the last mail your letter of the twenty third N. S. from Heidelberg, and am very well pleased to find that you inform yourself of the particulars of several places you go through. You do mighty right to see the curiosities in those several places; such as the golden *Bull* at Frankfort, the tun at Heidelberg, &c. Other travellers see them and talk of them, it is very proper to see them too; but remember, that seeing is the least material object of travelling; hearing and knowing are the essential points. Therefore pray let your inquiries be chiefly directed to the knowledge of the constitution and particular customs of the places where you either reside at, or pass through; who they belong to, by what right and tenure, and since when; in whom the supreme authority is lodged; and by what magistrates, and in what manner, the civil and the criminal justice is administered. It is likewise necessary to get as much acquaintance as you can, in order to observe the characters and manners of the people; for, though human nature is in truth the same through the whole human

human species, yet it is so differently modified and varied, by education, habit, and different customs, that one should, upon a slight and superficial observation, almost think it different.

“ As I have never been in Switzerland myself, I must desire you to inform me, now and then, of the constitution of that country. As for instance; do the Thirteen Cantons, jointly and collectively, form one government, where the supreme authority is lodged; or is each canton sovereign in itself, and under no tie or constitutional obligation of acting in common concert with the other Cantons? Can any one Canton make war or alliances with a foreign power, without the consent of the other twelve, or at least a majority of them? Can one Canton declare war to another? If every Canton is sovereign and independent in itself, in whom is the supreme power of that Canton lodged? Is it in one man, or in a certain number of men? If in one man, what is he called? If in a number, what are they called; senate, council, or what? I do not suppose that you can yet know these things yourself; but a very little inquiry, of those who do, will enable you to answer me these questions in your next.

§ “ You

“ You see, I am sure, the necessity of knowing these things thoroughly, and, consequently the necessity of conversing much with the people of the country, who alone can inform you rightly ; whereas most of the English, who travel, converse only with each other, and consequently know no more, when they return to England, than they did when they left it. This proceeds from a *mauvaise honte*, which makes them ashamed of going into company ; and frequently too from the want of the necessary language (French) to enable them to bear their part in it. As for the *mauvaise honte*, I hope you are above it. Your figure is like other people’s ; I suppose you will take care that your dress shall be so too, and to avoid any singularity. What then should you be ashamed of ; and why not go into a mixed company, with as much ease, and as little concern as you would go into your own room ? Vice and ignorance are the only things I know, which one ought to be ashamed of : keep but clear of them, and you may go any where, without fear or concern.”

This is an excellent advice, and the observations that follow are worthy of it.

“ I have known some people, who, from feeling the pain and inconveniencies  
of

of this *mauvaise honte*, have rushed into the other extreme, and turned impudent; as cowards sometimes grow desperate from the excess of danger: but this too is carefully to be avoided; there being nothing more generally shocking than impudence. The medium, between these two extremes, marks out the well-bred man; he feels himself firm and easy in all companies; is modest without being bashful, and steady without being impudent: if he is a stranger, he observes, with care, the manners and ways of the people the most esteemed of that place, and conforms to them with complaisance. Instead of finding fault with the customs of that place, and telling the people that the English ones are a thousand times better, (as my countrymen are very apt to do) he commends their table, their dress, their houses, and their manners, a little more, it may be, than he really thinks they deserve. But this degree of complaisance is neither criminal nor abject; and is but a small price to pay for the good-will and affection of the people you converse with. As the generality of people are weak enough to be pleased with these little things, those who refuse to please them, so cheap, are, in my mind, weaker than they.

“ This.

“ This letter is insensibly grown too long; but, as I always flatter myself that my experience may be of some use to your youth and inexperience, I throw out, as it occurs to me, and shall continue to do so, every thing that I think may be of the least advantage to you in this important and decisive period of your life. God preserve you!

“ P. S. I am much better, and shall leave this place soon.”

The following letter altogether is a masterpiece; and what is remarkable, his lordship's name is formally affixed to it in the late publication, and not to any of the rest.

Bath, Oct. the 4th, O. S. 1746.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ Though I employ so much of my time in writing to you, I confess, I have often my doubts, whether it is to any purpose. I know how unwelcome advice generally is; I know that those who want it most, like it and follow it least; and I know, too, that the advice of parents, more particularly, is ascribed to the moroseness, the imperiousness, or the garrulity of old-age. But then, on the other hand,



hand, I flatter myself, that as your own reason, (though too young as yet to suggest much to you of itself) is, however, strong enough to enable you, both to judge of, and receive plain truths: I flatter myself (I say) that your own reason, young as it is, must tell you, that I can have no interest but yours in the advice I give you; and that, consequently, you will at least weigh and consider it well: in which case, some of it will, I hope, have its effect. Do not think that I mean to dictate as a parent; I only mean to advise as a friend, and an indulgent one too: and do not apprehend that I mean to check your pleasures; of which, on the contrary, I only desire to be the guide, not the censor. Let my experience supply your want of it, and clear your way, in the progress of your youth, of those thorns and briars, which scratched and disfigured me in the course of mine. I do not, therefore, so much as hint to you, how absolutely dependent you are upon me; that you neither have nor can have a shilling in the world but from me; and that, as I have no womanish weakness for your person, your merit must, and will, be the only measure of my kindness. I say, I do not hint these things to you, because I am convinced  
that

that you will act right, upon more noble and generous principles : I mean, for the sake of doing right, and out of affection and gratitude to me.

“ I have so often recommended, to you, attention and application to whatever you learn, that I do not mention them now as duties ; but I point them out to you, as conducive, nay, absolutely necessary to your pleasures ; for can there be a greater pleasure, than to be universally allowed to excel those of one’s own age and manner of life ? And, consequently, can there be any thing more mortifying than to be excelled by them ? In this latter case, your shame and regret must be greater than any body’s, because every body knows the uncommon care which has been taken of your education, and the opportunities you have had of knowing more than others of your age. I do not confine the application which I recommend, singly to the view and emulation of excelling others (though that is a very sensible pleasure and a very warrantable pride ; ) but I mean likewise to excel in the thing itself : for, in my mind, one may as well not know a thing at all, as know it but imperfectly. To know a little of any thing, gives neither satisfaction

tion nor credit; but often brings disgrace or ridicule.

Mr. Pope says, very truly,

“ A little knowledge is a dang’rous thing;

“ Drink deep, or taste not the Castalian spring.”

And what is called a *smattering* of every thing, intallibly constitutes a coxcomb. I have often, of late, reflected what an unhappy man I must now have been, if I had not acquired in my youth some fund and taste of learning. What could I have done with myself, at this age, without them? I must, as many ignorant people do, have destroyed my health and faculties by sitting away the evenings; or, by wasting them frivolously in the tattle of women’s company, must have exposed myself to the ridicule and contempt of those very women; or, lastly, I must have hanged myself, as a man once did, for weariness of putting on and pulling off his shoes and stockings every day. My books, and only my books, are now left me, and I daily find what Cicero says of learning to be true: *Hæc studia* (says he) *adolescētiā alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium, ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*

“ I do

“ I do not mean, by this, to exclude conversation out of the pleasures of an advanced age; on the contrary, it is a very great and a very rational pleasure, at all ages; but the conversation of the ignorant is no conversation, and gives even them no pleasure: they tire of their own sterility, and have not matter enough to furnish them with words to keep up a conversation.

“ Let me, therefore, most earnestly recommend to you, to hoard up while you can, a great stock of knowledge; for though, during the dissipation of your youth, you may not have occasion to spend much of it; yet, you may depend upon it, that a time will come, when you will want it to maintain you. Public granaries are filled in plentiful years; not that it is known that the next, or the second, or third year will prove a scarce one; but because it is known, that, sooner or later, such a year will come, in which the grain will be wanted.

“ I will say no more to you upon this subject; you have Mr. Harte with you to enforce it, you have reason to assent to the truth of it; so that, in short,  
 “ you have Moses and the Prophets; if  
 “ you will not believe them, neither will  
 “ you believe, though one rose from the dead.”

“ dead.” — Do not imagine that the knowledge, which I so much recommend to you, is confined to books, pleasing, useful, and necessary as that knowledge is: but I comprehend in it the great knowledge of the world, still more necessary than that of books. In truth, they assist one another reciprocally; and no man will have either perfectly, who has not both. The knowledge of the world is only to be acquired in the world, and not in a closet. Books alone will never teach it you; but they will suggest many things to your observation, which might otherwise escape you; and your own observations upon mankind, when compared with those which you will find in books, will help you to fix the true point.

“ To know mankind well, requires full as much attention and application as to know books, and, it may be, more sagacity and discernment. I am, at this time, acquainted with many elderly people, who have all passed their whole lives in the great world, but with such levity and inattention, that they know no more of it now, than they did at fifteen. Do not flatter yourself, therefore, with the thoughts that you can acquire this knowledge in the frivolous chit-chat of idle

companies: no, you must go much deeper than that. You must look into people, as well as at them. Almost all people are born with all the passions, to a certain degree; but almost every man has one prevailing one, to which the others are subordinate. Search every one for that ruling passion; pry into the recesses of his heart, and observe the different workings of the same passion in different people. And when you have found out the prevailing passion of any man, remember never to trust him, where that passion is concerned. Work upon him by it, if you please; but be upon your guard yourself against it, whatever professions he may make you.

“ I would desire you to read this letter twice over, but that I much doubt whether you will read once to the end of it. I will trouble you no longer now; but we will have more upon this subject hereafter. Adieu.

CHESTERFIELD:

“ I have this moment received your letter from Chaffhausen: in the date of it you forgot the month.”

How attentive was this great man to the all-accomplishing of his dear boy!

Bath,



Bath, Oct. 9, O. S. 1746.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ Your distresses in your journey from Heidelberg to Schaffhausen, your lying upon straw, your black bread, and your broken *Berline*, are proper seasonings for the greater fatigues and distresses which you must expect in the course of your travels; and, if one had a mind to moralize, one might call them the samples of the accidents, rubs, and difficulties, which every man meets with in his journey through life. In this journey, the understanding is the *voiture* that must carry you through; and in proportion as that is stronger or weaker, more or less in repair, your journey will be better or worse; though, at best, you will now and then find some bad roads, and some bad inns. Take care, therefore, to keep that necessary *voiture* in perfect good repair; examine, improve, and strengthen it every day: it is in the power, and ought to be the care of every man to do it; he that neglects it, deserves to feel, and certainly will feel, the fatal effects of that negligence.

“ *A propos* of negligence; I must say something to you upon that subject. You

know I have often told you, that my affection for you was not a weak, ~~womanish~~ one ; and, far from blinding me, it makes me but more quick-sighted, as to your faults : those it is not only my right, but my duty, to tell you of ; and it is your duty and your interest to correct them. In the strict scrutiny which I have made into you, I have (thank God) hitherto not discovered any vice of the heart, or any peculiar weakness of the head : but I have discovered laziness, inattention, and indifference ; faults which are only pardonable in old men, who, in the decline of life, when health and spirits fail, have a kind of claim to that sort of tranquillity. But a young man should be ambitious to shine, and excel ; alert, active, and indefatigable in the means of doing it ; and, like Cesar, *Nil ædum reputans, si quid superesset agendum*. You seem to want that *vivida vis animi*, which spurs and excites most young men to please, to shine, to excel. Without the desire and the pains necessary to be considerable, depend upon it, you never can be so ; as, without the desire and attention necessary to please, you never can please. *Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia*, is unquestionably true, with regard to every thing except poetry ; and I am very sure that any man  
of

of common understanding may, by proper culture, care, attention, and labour, make himself whatever he pleases, except a good poet."

Why his lordship should have excepted poetry, seems a little odd; particularly as he has elsewhere said, that the measure and harmony of versification may be acquired: and it certainly may, by any man who has got a good ear. What then should hinder any man of a good ear and warm imagination, from making himself a poet? And without both he will make but a poor orator, notwithstanding the adage *nascitur poeta, fit orator*. An implicit veneration for the authority of the ancients could only have led his lordship into such a vulgar error. What follows, however, in some measure forms his apology; for it appears, that the qualifications which he demanded of his son, required industry, not genius.

"Your destination,"—continues he,—  
 "is the great and busy world; your immediate object is the affairs, the interests, and the history, the constitutions, the customs, and the manners of the several parts of Europe. In this, any man of common sense may, by common application, be sure to excel. Ancient and modern history are, by attention, easily  
 13 attainable.

attainable. Geography and chronology the same; none of them requiring any uncommon share of genius or invention. Speaking and writing clearly, correctly, and with ease and grace, are certainly to be acquired, by reading the best authors with care, and by attention to the best living models. These are the qualifications more particularly necessary for you, in your department, which you may be possessed of, if you please; and which, I tell you fairly, I shall be very angry at you, if you are not; because, as you have the means in your hands, it will be your own fault only.

“ If care and application are necessary to the acquiring of those qualifications, without which you can never be considerable, nor make a figure in the world; they are not less necessary with regard to the lesser accomplishments, which are requisite to make you agreeable and pleasing in society. In truth, whatever is worth doing at all, is worth doing well; and nothing can be done well without attention: I therefore carry the necessity of attention down to the lowest things, even to dancing and dress. Custom has made dancing sometimes necessary for a young man; therefore mind it while you learn it, that you may learn to do it well, and not

not be ridiculous, though in a ridiculous act. Dress is of the same nature; you must dress: therefore attend to it; not in order to rival or excel a fop in it, but in order to avoid singularity, and consequently ridicule. Take great care always to be dressed like the reasonable people of your own age, in the place where you are; whose dress is never spoken of one way or another, as either too negligent, or too much studied.

“ What is commonly called an absent man, is commonly either a very weak, or a very affected man; but be he which he will, he is, I am sure, a very disagreeable man in company. He fails in all the common offices of civility; he seems not to know those people to day, whom yesterday he appeared to live in intimacy with. He takes no part in the general conversation; but, on the contrary, breaks into it from time to time, with some start of his own, as if he waked from a dream. This (as I said before) is a sure indication, either of a mind so weak that it is not able to bear above one object at a time; or so affected, that it would be supposed to be wholly engrossed by, and directed to, some very great and important objects. Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Locke, and (it may be) five or six more, since the crea-

tion of the world, may have had a right to absence, from that intense thought which the things they were investigating required. But if a young man, and a man of the world, who has no such avocations to plead, will claim and exercise that right of absence in company, his pretended right should, in my mind, be turned into an involuntary absence, by his perpetual exclusion out of company.

“ However frivolous a company may be, still, while you are among them, do not show them, by your inattention, that you think them so ; but rather take their tone, and conform in some degree to their weakness, instead of manifesting your contempt for them. There is nothing that people bear more impatiently, or forgive less, than contempt ; and an injury is much sooner forgotten than an insult. If therefore you would rather please than offend, rather be well than ill spoken of, rather be loved than hated ; remember to have that constant attention about you, which flatters every man’s little vanity ; and the want of which, by mortifying his pride, never fails to excite his resentment, or at least his ill-will.

“ My long and frequent letters, which I send you, in great doubt of their success, put me in mind of certain papers, which



which you have, very lately, and I formerly, sent up to kites, along the string, which we called messengers; some of them the wind used to blow away, others were torn by the string, and but few of them got up and stuck to the kite. But I will content myself now, as I did then, if some of my present messengers do but stick to you. Adieu."

The earl of Chesterfield was appointed one of his majesty's principal Secretaries of State, soon after the date of the foregoing letter: the correspondence was, therefore, in some measure, interrupted for a time. He hints at that interruption in a letter to his son, dated the second of December, one thousand seven hundred and forty-six.

"I have not, in my present situation, time to write to you, either so much or so often as I used, while I was in a place of much more leisure and profit: but my affection for you must not be judged of by the number of my letters; and, though the one lessens, the other, I assure you, does not."

But notwithstanding what the earl of Chesterfield here says of the want of leisure, he continued to write pretty frequently to his dear boy, even while Secretary; and I shall continue, as formerly, to give

such letters written during that time, as can throw any light upon his lordship's life or character.

London, Dec. 9th, O. S. 1746.

“DEAR BOY,

“Though I have very little time, and though I write by this post to Mr. Harte, [his son's governor] yet I cannot send a packet to Lausanne without a word or two to yourself. I thank you for your letter of congratulation which you wrote me, notwithstanding the pain it gave you. The accident that caused the pain, was, I presume, owing to that degree of giddiness which I have sometimes taken the liberty to speak to you of. The post I am now in, though the object of most people's views and desires, was in some degree inflicted upon me; and a certain concurrence of circumstances obliged me to engage in it. But I feel that it requires more strength of body and mind than I have, to go through with it: were you three or four years older, you should share in my trouble, and I would have taken you into my office; but I hope you will employ those three or four years so well, as to make yourself capable of being of use to me, if I should continue in it so long.

long. The reading, writing, and speaking the modern languages correctly; the knowledge of the laws of nations, and the particular constitution of the empire; of history, geography, and chronology, are absolutely necessary to this business, for which I have always intended you. With these qualifications, you may very possibly be my successor, though not my immediate one.

“ I hope you employ your whole time, which few people do; and that you put every moment to profit of some kind or other. I call company, walking, riding, &c. employing one's time, and, upon proper occasions, very usefully; but what I cannot forgive, in any body, is sauntering, and doing nothing at all, with a thing so precious as time, and so irrecoverable when lost.

“ Are you acquainted with any ladies at Lausanne; and do you behave yourself with politeness enough to make them desire your company?

“ I must finish: God bless you!

The next letter is in French: but as I suppose a translation may satisfy most readers, I shall give that only. The subject is pleasure.

London, Feb. 24th, O. S. 1747.

“ SIR,

“ In order that we may, reciprocally, keep up our French, which, for want of practice, we might forget, you will permit me to have the honour of assuring you of my respects, in that language; and be so good as to answer me also in the same. Not that I am apprehensive of your forgetting to speak French; since it is probable, that two-thirds of your daily prattle is in that language; but because, if you leave off writing French, you may, perhaps, neglect that grammatical purity, and accurate orthography, which, in other languages, you excel in; and, even in French, it is better to write well than ill. It is a language at least very proper for sprightly and gay subjects; so that I shall confine myself to these, and reserve those which are serious for English. - I shall not, therefore, mention to you, at present, your Greek or Latin, your study of the law of nature or nations, of the rights of communities or individuals, but rather discuss the subject of your amusements and pleasures; for, to say the truth, one must have some. May I be permitted to inquire of what nature yours are? Do they consist in a little

little social play, in good company? are they little agreeable suppers, at which cheerfulness and decency are united? or, do you pay court to some fair one, who requires such attentions as may be of use in contributing to polish you? Make me your confidant upon this subject; you shall not find a severe censor: on the contrary, I wish to obtain the employment of minister to your pleasures: I will point them out, and even contribute to them.

“ Many young people adopt pleasures, for which they have not the least taste, only because they are called by that name. They often mistake so totally, as to imagine, that debauchery is pleasure. You must allow that drunkenness, which is equally destructive to body and mind, is a fine pleasure. High gaming, that draws you into a thousand scrapes, leaves you penniless, and gives you the air and manners of an outrageous madman, is another most exquisite pleasure; is it not? As to debauching with women, indeed, the consequences are only the loss of one's nose, a broken constitution, and now and then a few thrusts with a sword: trifles these! This however, is the catalogue of pleasures of most young people; who never reason for themselves, but adopt, indiscriminately, what others chuse to call by the seducing name of pleasure. I am  
thoroughly

thoroughly persuaded you will not fall into such errors; and that, in the choice of your amusements, you will be directed by reason and a discerning taste.

“Elegant company; the pleasures of the table, within proper bounds; moderate play, which amuses without ruffling; and the gay and sprightly conversations of women of wit and fashion, are the true pleasures of a gentleman; pleasures which cause neither sickness, shame, nor repentance. Whatever exceeds these becomes low vice, brutal passion, debauchery, and insanity of mind; all which, far from giving satisfaction, bring on dishonour and disgrace. Adieu.”

In the following letter, among many others, his lordship discovers a peculiar partiality to French manners: and they undoubtedly have their advantages, particularly for a man designed to act in a public character, as they make him equally easy and recollected upon all occasions. But an utter want of the sense of shame, and sheepish bashfulness, are almost equally hurtful to their owner: the one prevents a man from displaying himself to advantage, the other makes all his eloquence and address ineffectual; and between these two extremes generally lies the difference between an Englishman and a French-



Frenchman. I should therefore think that a well bred Englishman (a character by no means scarce at present, whatever it might be when his lordship wrote) has as good a chance to touch the perfection of human nature as a Frenchman, if not a better; for a certain degree of diffidence of ourselves, or an impression of respect for those we address, is essential to persuade. It is highly flattering to human pride, as well as necessary to convince others of our sincerity; whereas the perfect ease of perfect French politeness arms our pride even against eloquence itself; and Cicero, with such an air, had spoke in vain: nobody would have believed him in earnest. But that accomplished Roman was so distant from French unconcern, that he never ascended the rostrum, he tells us, without trembling, as he certainly never did without persuading; and the old officer, who asking a favour of Lewis XIV. and not being able to conclude his discourse, said, "Sir, I hope you will believe I do tremble thus before your enemies," had as little difficulty to obtain his request, as if he had been perfectly *unconcerned* in the presence of *majesty* — This much I thought necessary to say in vindication of English manners; or, at least to shew, that a servile

vile

vile imitation of French manners would not be attended with better consequences, even to the MAN of the WORLD.

London, March 6th, O. S. 1747.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ Whatever you do, will always affect me, very sensibly, one way or another; and I am now most agreeably affected, by two letters, which I have lately seen from Lausanne, upon your subject; the one was from Madame St. Germain, the other from Monsieur Pampigny: they both give so good an account of you, that I thought myself obliged, in justice both to them and to you, to let you know it. Those who deserve a good character, ought to have the satisfaction of knowing that they have it, both as a reward and as an encouragement. They write that you are not only *décrotté*, but tolerably well-bred; and that the English crust of awkward bashfulness, shyness, and roughness, (of which, by the bye, you had your share) is pretty well rubbed off. I am most heartily glad of it; for, as I have often told you, those lesser talents, of an engaging, insinuating manner, and easy good-breeding, a genteel behaviour and address, are of infinitely more advantage,  
than

than they are generally thought to be, especially here in England.

“ Virtue and learning, like gold, have their intrinsic value ; but if they are not polished, they certainly lose a great deal of their lustre : and even polished brass will pass upon more people than rough gold. What a number of sins does the cheerful, easy good-breeding of the French frequently cover ? Many of them want common sense, many more common learning ; but, in general, they make up so much, by their manner, for those defects, that, frequently, they pass undiscovered.

“ I have often said, and do think, that a Frenchman, who, with a fund of virtue, learning, and good sense, has the manners and good-breeding of his country, is the perfection of human nature. This perfection you may, if you please, and I hope you will, arrive at. You know what virtue is : you may have it if you will ; it is in every man’s power ; and miserable is the man who has it not. Good sense, God has given you. Learning, you already possess enough of, to have, in a reasonable time, all that a man need have. With this, you are thrown out early into the world, where it will be your own fault if you do not acquire all the other accomplishments necessary to complete

complete and adorn your character. You will do well to make your compliments to Madame St. Germain and Monsieur Pampigny; and tell them, how sensible you are of their partiality to you, in the advantageous testimonies which, you are informed, they have given of you here.

“ Adieu! Continue to deserve such testimonies; and then you will not only deserve, but enjoy, my truest affection.”

The subject of pleasure is here resumed, and the mistakes with regard to it farther illustrated, by his lordship's own errors. If any of the sentiments should appear too free, it is to be remembered, that the author was not a parson. In this letter and many others, he speaks like a philosopher, unwarpd by system, and unfettered by prejudice: he does not preach down pleasures, but false ones.

London, March 27th, O. S. 1747.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ Pleasure is the rock which most young people split upon; they launch out with crowded sails in quest of it, but without a compass to direct their course, or reason sufficient to steer the vessel; for want of which, pain and shame, instead of pleasure, are the returns of their voyage. Do not  
think

think that I mean to snarl at pleasure, like a Stoic, or to preach against it like a parson; no, I mean to point it out, and recommend it to you, like an Epicurean: I wish you a great deal; and my only view is to hinder you from mistaking it.

“ The character which most young men first aim at is, that of a man of pleasure; but they generally take it upon trust; and instead of consulting their own taste and inclinations, they blindly adopt whatever those, with whom they chiefly converse, are pleased to call by the name of pleasure; and a *man of pleasure*, in the vulgar acceptation of that phrase, means only, a beastly drunkard, an abandoned whore-master, and a profligate swearer and curser. As it may be of use to you, I am not unwilling, though at the same time ashamed, to own, that the vices of my youth proceeded much more from my silly resolution of being, what I heard called a man of pleasure, than from my own inclinations. I always naturally hated drinking; and yet I have often drunk, with disgust at the time, attended by great sickness the next day, only because I then considered drinking as a necessary qualification for a fine gentleman, and a man of pleasure.

“ The

“ The same as to gaming. I did not want money, and consequently had no occasion to play for it; but I thought play another necessary ingredient in the composition of a man of pleasure, and accordingly I plunged into it without desire, at first; sacrificed a thousand real pleasures to it; and made myself solidly uneasy by it, for thirty the best years of my life.

“ I was even absurd enough, for a little while, to swear, by way of adorning and completing the shining character which I affected; but this folly I soon laid aside, upon finding both the guilt and the indecency of it.

“ Thus seduced by fashion, and blindly adopting nominal pleasures, I lost real ones; and my fortune impaired, and my constitution shattered, are, I must confess, the just punishment of my errors.

“ Take warning then by them; chuse your pleasures for yourself, and do not let them be imposed upon you. Follow nature, and not fashion: weigh the present enjoyment of your pleasures, against the necessary consequences of them, and then let your own common sense determine your choice.

“ Were I to begin the world again, with the experience which I now have of it,



It, I would lead a life of real, not of imaginary pleasure. I would enjoy the pleasures of the table, and of wine; but stop short of the pains inseparably annexed to an excess in either. I would not, at twenty years, be a preaching missionary of abstemiousness and sobriety; and I should let other people do as they would, without formally and sententiously rebuking them for it; but I would be most firmly resolved, not to destroy my own faculties and constitution, in complaisance to those who have no regard to their own. I would play to give me pleasure, but not to give me pain; that is, I would play for trifles, in mixed companies, to amuse myself, and conform to custom; but I would take care not to venture for sums, which, if I won, I should not be the better for; but, if I lost, should be under a difficulty to pay; and, when paid, would oblige me to retrench in several other articles. Not to mention the quarrels which deep play commonly occasions.

“ I would pass some of my time in reading, and the rest in the company of people of sense and learning, and chiefly those above me: and I would frequent the mixed companies of men and women of fashion, which though often frivolous, yet they unbend and refresh the mind,  
not

not uselessly, because they certainly polish and soften the manners.

“ These would be my pleasures and amusements, if I were to live the last thirty years over again ; they are rational ones ; and moreover I will tell you, they are really the fashionable ones : for the others are not, in truth, the pleasures of what I call people of fashion, but of those who only call themselves so. Does good company care to have a man reeling drunk among them ? Or to see another tearing his hair, and blaspheming, for having lost, at play, more than he is able to pay ? Or a whore-master with half a nose, and crippled by coarse and infamous debauchery ? No ; those who practise, and much more those who brag of them, make no part of good company ; and are most unwillingly, if ever, admitted into it.

“ A real man of fashion and pleasure observes decency ; at least, neither borrows nor affects vices ; and, if he unfortunately has any, he gratifies them with choice, delicacy, and secrecy.

“ I have not mentioned the pleasures of the mind, (which are the solid and permanent ones) because they do not come under the head of what people commonly call pleasures ; which they seem to confine to the senses. The pleasure of

virtue, of charity, and of learning, is true and lasting pleasure; which I hope you will be well and long acquainted with. Adieu."

The subject is continued in the following letter.

London, April 14th, O. S. 1747.

" DEAR BOY,

" If you feel half the pleasure from the consciousness of doing well, that I do from the informations I have lately received in your favour from Mr. Harte, I shall have little occasion to exhort or admonish you, any more, to do what your own satisfaction and self-love will sufficiently prompt you to. Mr. Harte tells me that you attend, that you apply to your studies; and that, beginning to understand, you begin to taste them. This pleasure will increase, and keep peace with your attention; so that the balance will be greatly to your advantage. You may remember, that I have always earnestly recommended to you, to do what you are about, be that what it will; and to do nothing else at the same time. Do not imagine, that I mean, by this, that you should attend to, and plod at your book all day long; far from it: I mean that you should have your pleasures too; and

that you should attend to them, for the time, as much as to your studies; and, if you do not attend equally to both, you will neither have improvement or satisfaction from either.

“ A man is fit for neither business nor pleasure, who either cannot, or does not, command and direct his attention to the present object, and, in some degree, banish, for that time, all other objects from his thoughts. If at a ball, a supper, or a party of pleasure, a man were to be solving, in his own mind, a problem in Euclid, he would be a very bad companion, and make a poor figure in that company; or if, in studying a problem in his closet, he were to think of a minuet, I am apt to believe that he would make a very poor mathematician.

“ There is time enough for every thing, in the course of the day, if you do but one thing at once; but there is not time enough in the year if you will do two things at a time. The Pensionary de Witt, who was torn to pieces in the year 1672, did the whole business of the Republic, and yet had time left to go to assemblies in the evening, and sup in company. Being asked, how he could possibly find time to go through so much business, and yet amuse himself in the  
2 evenings

evenings as he did? he answered, There was nothing so easy; for that it was only doing one thing at a time, and never putting off any thing till to-morrow, that could be done to-day.

“ This steady and undissipated attention to one object, is a sure mark of a superior genius; as hurry, bustle, and agitation, are the never-failing symptoms, of a weak and frivolous mind. When you read Horace, attend to the justness of his thoughts, the happiness of his diction, and the beauty of his poetry; and do not think of Puffendorf *de Homine et Cive*: and, when you are reading Puffendorf, do not think of Madame de St. Germain; nor of Puffendorf, when you are talking to Madame de St. Germain.”

It will be unnecessary to make any apology for inserting the following letter; for, though the precepts in it are few, it contains the names of several collections of letters, which will do more to form a perfect epistolary style, than a volume on the subject of letter-writing: and his lordship's recommendation will certainly be of weight.

: VOL. I.

K London,

London, July 20th, O. S. 1747

“ DEAR BOY,

“ In your mamma’s letter, which goes here enclosed, you will find one from my sister, to thank you for the Arquebusade water which you sent her, and which she takes very kindly. She would not show me her letter to you ; but told me, that it contained good wishes and good advice ; and, as I know she will show your letter, in answer to her’s, I send you here enclosed the draught of the letter which I would have you write to her. I hope you will not be offended at my offering you my assistance upon this occasion : because, I presume, that as yet you are not much used to write to ladies.

“ *A propos* of letter-writing ; the best models that you can form yourself upon, are, Cicero, Cardinal d’Ossat, Madame Sevigné, and Comte Buffy Rabutin. Cicero’s Epistles to Atticus, and to his familiar friends, are the best examples that you can imitate, in the friendly and the familiar style. The simplicity and clearness of Cardinal d’Ossat’s letters, show how letters of business ought to be written : no affected turns, no attempt at wit, obscure or perplex his matter ; which is



always plainly and clearly stated, as business always should be. For gay and amusing letters, for *enjouement* and *badinage*, there are none that equal Comte Buffy's and Madame Sevigné's. They are so natural, that they seem to be the extempore conversations of two people of wit; rather than letters, which are commonly studied, though they ought not to be so. I would advise you to let that book be one in your itinerant library; it will both amuse and inform you.

"I have not time to add any more now; so good night."

This letter is upon lying; and from the description of a vain liar, with which it concludes, it appears that his lordship would have excelled in comedy: for there is a particularity and truth in it, which is rarely found, even in writers of taste and observation.

London, Sept. 21st, O. S. 1747.

"DEAR BOY,

"I do not wonder that you were surprised at the credulity and superstition of the papists at Einsiedlen, and at their absurd stories of their chapel. But remember, at the same time, that errors and mistakes, however gross, in matters of  
K 2 opinion,

opinion, if they are sincere, are to be pitied; but not punished, nor laughed at. The blindness of the understanding is as much to be pitied, as the blindness of the eyes; and there is neither jest nor guilt in a man's losing his way in either case. Charity bids us set him right, if we can, by arguments and persuasions; but charity, at the same time, forbids, either to punish or ridicule his misfortune. Every man's reason is, and must be, his guide; and I may as well expect, that every man should be of my size and complexion, as that he should reason just as I do. Every man seeks for truth; but God only knows who has found it. It is, therefore, as unjust to persecute, as it is absurd to ridicule people for those several opinions which they cannot help entertaining upon the conviction of their reason. It is the man who tells, or who acts a lie, that is guilty, and not he who honestly and sincerely believes the lie.

“ I really know nothing more criminal, more mean, and more ridiculous, than lying. It is the production either of malice, cowardice, or vanity; and generally misses of its aim in every one of these views; for lies are always detected, sooner or later. If I tell a malicious lie, in order to affect any man's fortune or character,

ter, I may indeed injure him for some time ; but I shall be sure to be the greatest sufferer myself at last ; for, as soon as ever I am detected (and detected I most certainly shall be) I am blasted for the infamous attempt ; and whatever is said afterwards, to the disadvantage of that person, however true, passes for calumny. If I lie, or equivocate, for it is the same thing, in order to excuse myself of something that I have said or done, and to avoid the danger or the shame that I apprehend from it, I discover, at once, my fear, as well as my falsehood ; and only increase, instead of avoiding, the danger and the shame ; I show myself to be the lowest and the meanest of mankind, and am sure to be always treated as such.

“ Fear, instead of avoiding, invites danger ; for concealed cowards will insult known ones. If one has had the misfortune to be in the wrong, there is something noble in frankly owning it ; it is the only way of atoning for it, and the only way of being forgiven. Equivocating, evading, shuffling, in order to remove a present danger or inconveniency, is something so mean, and betrays so much fear, that whoever practises them, always deserves to be, and often will be kicked.

“ There is another sort of lies, inoffensive enough in themselves, but wonderfully ridiculous ; I mean those lies which a mistaken vanity suggests, that defeat the very end for which they are calculated, and terminate in the humiliation and confusion of their author, who is sure to be detected. These are chiefly narrative and historical lies, all intended to do infinite honour to their author. He is always the hero of his own romances ; he has been in dangers from which nobody but himself ever escaped ; he has seen with his own eyes, whatever other people have heard or read of : he has had more *bonnes fortunes*, than ever he knew women ; and has rid more miles post, in one day, than ever courier went in two. He is soon discovered, and as soon becomes the object of universal contempt and ridicule.—Remember then, as long as you live, that nothing but strict truth can carry you through the world, with either your conscience or your honour unwounded. It is not only your duty but your interest : as a proof of which, you may always observe, that the greatest fools are the greatest liars. For my own part, I judge of every man’s truth by his degree of understanding. Adieu !”

In

In the following letter his lordship touches on that knowledge of the world, which he afterwards treats at so much length.

London, Oct. 2d, O. S. 1747.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ By your letter of the eighteenth past, N. S. I find that you are a tolerable good landscape painter, and can present the several views of Switzerland to the curious. I am very glad of it, as it is a proof of some attention; but I hope you will be as good a portrait painter, which is a much more noble science. By portraits, you will easily judge, that I do not mean the outlines and the colouring of the human figure; but the inside of the heart and mind of man.

“ This science requires more attention, observation, and penetration, than the other; as indeed it is infinitely more useful. Search therefore, with the greatest care, into the characters of all those whom you converse with; endeavour to discover their predominant passions, their prevailing weaknesses, their vanities, their follies, and their humours; with all the right and wrong, wise and silly springs of human actions, which make such incon-

sistent and whimsical beings of us rational creatures. A moderate share of penetration, with great attention, will infallibly make these necessary discoveries.

“ This is the true knowledge of the world; and the world is a country which nobody ever yet knew by description; one must travel through it one’s self to be acquainted with it. The scholar, who in the dust of his closet talks or writes of the world, knows no more of it, than that orator did of war, who judiciously endeavoured to instruct Hannibal in it. Courts and camps are the only places to learn the world in. There alone all kinds of characters resort, and human nature is seen in all the various shapes and modes, which education, custom, and habit give it: whereas, in all other places, one local mode generally prevails, and produces a seeming, though not a real, sameness of character. For example, one general mode distinguishes an university, another a trading town, a third a sea-port town, and so on; whereas at a capital, where the prince or the supreme power resides, some of all these various modes are to be seen, and seen in action too, exerting their utmost skill in pursuit of their several objects.

“ Human



“ Human nature is the same all over the world ; but its operations are so varied by education and habit, that one must see it in all its dresses, in order to be intimately acquainted with it. The passion of ambition, for instance, is the same in a courtier, a soldier, or an ecclesiastic ; but, from their different educations and habits, they will take very different methods to gratify it. Civility, which is a disposition to accommodate and oblige others, is essentially the same in every country ; but good-breeding, as it is called, which is the manner of exerting that disposition, is different in almost every country, and merely local ; and every man of sense imitates and conforms to that local good-breeding of the place which he is at.—A conformity and flexibility of manners is necessary in the course of the world ; that is, with regard to all things, which are not wrong in themselves. The *versatile ingenuity* is the most useful of all. It can turn itself instantly from one object to another, assuming the proper manner for each. It can be serious with the grave, chearful with the gay, and trifling with the frivolous. Endeavour, by all means, to acquire this talent, for it is a very great one.”

The subject of the world is continued in this letter, with some very deep and judicious observations with regard to company and friends.

London, Oct. 9th, O. S. 1747.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ People of your age, have, commonly, an unguarded frankness about them; which makes them the easy prey and bubbles of the artful and the experienced: they look upon every knave, or fool, who tells them that he is their friend, to be really so; and pay that profession of simulated friendship, with an indiscreet and unbounded confidence, always to their loss, often to their ruin. Beware, therefore, now that you are coming into the world, of these proffered friendships. Receive them with great civility, but with great incredulity too; and pay them with compliments, but not with confidence. Do not let your vanity, and self-love, make you suppose that people become your friends at first sight, or even upon a short acquaintance. Real friendship is a slow grower; and never thrives, unless ingrafted upon a stock of known and reciprocal merit.

“ There

“ There is another kind of nominal friendship, among young people, which is warm for the time, but, by good luck, of short duration. This friendship is hastily produced, by their being accidentally thrown together, and pursuing the same course of riot and debauchery. A fine friendship, truly! and well cemented by drunkenness and lewdness. It should rather be called a conspiracy against morals and good manners, and be punished as such by the civil magistrate. However, they have the impudence, and the folly, to call this confederacy, a friendship. They lend one another money, for bad purposes; they engage in quarrels, offensive and defensive, for their accomplices; they tell one another all they know, and often more too; when, of a sudden, some accident disperses them, and they think no more of each other, unless it be to betray and laugh at their imprudent confidence.

“ Remember to make a great difference between companions and friends; for a very complaisant and agreeable companion may, and often does, prove a very improper and a very dangerous friend. People will, in a great degree, and not without reason, form their opinion of you, upon that which they have of your friends;

and there is a Spanish proverb, which says, very justly, *tell me who you live with, and I will tell you who you are.* One may fairly suppose, that a man, who makes a knave or a fool his friend, has something very bad to do, or to conceal. But, at the same time that you carefully decline the friendship of knaves and fools, if it can be called friendship, there is no occasion to make either of them your enemies, wantonly, and unprovoked; for they are numerous bodies; and I would rather chuse a secure neutrality, than alliance, or war, with either of them. You may be a declared enemy to their vices and follies, without being marked out by them as a personal one. Their enmity is the next dangerous thing to their friendship.—Have a real reserve with almost every body; and have a seeming reserve with almost nobody; for it is very disagreeable to seem reserved, and very dangerous not to be so. Few people find the true medium; many are ridiculously mysterious and reserved upon trifles; and many imprudently communicative of all they know.

“ The next thing to the choice of your friends, is the choice of your company. Endeavour, as much as you can, to keep company with people above you. There you

you rise, as much as you sink with people below you ; for (as I have mentioned before) you are, whatever the company you keep is. Do not mistake, when I say company above you, and think that I mean with regard to their birth ; that is the least consideration : but I mean with regard to their merit, and the light in which the world considers them.

“ There are two sorts of good company ; one, which is called the *beau monde*, and consists of those people who have the lead in courts, and in the gay part of life ; the other consists of those who are distinguished by some peculiar merit, or who excel in some particular and valuable art or science. For my own part, I used to think myself in company as much above me, when I was with Mr. Addison and Mr. Pope, as if I had been with all the princes in Europe. What I mean by low company, which should by all means be avoided, is the company of those, who, absolutely insignificant and contemptible in themselves, think they are honoured by being in your company, and who flatter every vice and every folly you have, in order to engage you to converse with them. The pride of being the first of the company, is but too common ; but it is very silly, and very prejudicial. Nothing  
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in the world lets down a character more, than that wrong turn.

“ You may possibly ask me, whether a man has it always in his power to get into the best company? and how? I say, yes, he has, by deserving it; provided he is but in circumstances which enable him to appear upon the footing of a gentleman. Merit and good breeding will make their way every where. Knowledge will introduce him, and good breeding will endear him to the best companies; for, as I have often told you, politeness and good-breeding are absolutely necessary to adorn any, or all other good qualities or talents. Without them, no knowledge, no perfection whatsoever, is seen in its best light. The scholar, without good-breeding, is a pedant; the philosopher, a cynic; the soldier, a brute; and every man disagreeable. Adieu!”

The following letter is a kind of epitome of that system of breeding, which is afterwards treated so much at large. What his lordship says of women, with regard to flattery, is somewhat severe; but, I am afraid too just.

London,



London Oct. 16th, O. S. 1747.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ The art of pleasing is a very necessary one to possess; but a very difficult one to acquire. It can hardly be reduced to rules; and your own good sense and observation will teach you more of it than I can. Do as you would be done by, is the surest method that I know of pleasing. Observe carefully what pleases you in others, and probably the same things in you will please others. If you are pleased with the complaisance and attention of others to your humours, your tastes, or your weaknesses, depend upon it, the same complaisance and attention, on your part, to theirs, will equally please them. Take the tone of the company, that you are in, and do not pretend to give it; be serious, gay, or even trifling, as you find the present humour of the company: this is an attention due from every individual to the majority.”

This observation is excellent and universally applicable.

“ Do not tell stories in company; there is nothing more tedious and disagreeable: if by chance you know a very short story, and exceedingly applicable to the present subject

subject of conversation, tell it in as few words as possible ; and even then, throw out that you do not love to tell stories ; but that the shortness of it tempted you. Of all things, banish the egotism out of your conversation, and never think of entertaining people with your own personal concerns, or private affairs ; though they are interesting to you, they are tedious and impertinent to every body else : besides that, one cannot keep one's own private affairs too secret. Whatever you think your own excellencies may be, do not affectedly display them in company ; nor labour, as many people do, to give that turn to the conversation, which may supply you with an opportunity of exhibiting them. If they are real, they will infallibly be discovered, without your pointing them out yourself, and with much more advantage. Never maintain an argument with heat and clamour, though you think or know yourself to be in the right ; but give your opinion modestly and coolly, which is the only way to convince ; and, if that does not do, try to change the conversation, by saying, with good humour, ‘ We shall hardly convince one another, nor is it necessary that we should, so let us talk of something else.’

“ Remember

“ Remember that there is a local propriety to be observed in all companies ; and that what is extremely proper in one company may be, and often is, highly improper in another.

“ The jokes, the *bons mots*, the little adventures, which may do very well in one company, will seem flat and tedious, when related in another. The particular characters, the habits, the cant of one company may give merit to a word, or a gesture, which would have none at all if divested of those accidental circumstances. Here people very commonly err ; and, fond of something that has entertained them in one company, and in certain circumstances, repeat it with emphasis in another, where it is either insipid, or, it may be, offensive, by being ill-timed, or misplaced. Nay, they often do it with this silly preamble ; ‘ I will tell you an ‘ excellent thing ;’ or, ‘ I will tell you ‘ the best thing in the world.’ This raises expectations, which, when absolutely disappointed, make the relator of this excellent thing look, very deservedly, like a fool.

“ If you would particularly gain the affection and friendship of particular people, whether men or women, endeavour to find out their predominant excellency,

if they have one, and their prevailing weakness, which every body has ; and do justice to the one, and something more than justice to the other. Men have various objects in which they may excel, or at least would be thought to excel ; and, though they love to hear justice done to them, where they know that they excel, yet they are most and best flattered upon those points where they wish to excel, and yet are doubtful whether they do or not. As for example : cardinal Richlieu, who was undoubtedly the ablest statesman of his time, or perhaps of any other, had the idle vanity of being thought the best poet too ; he envied the great Corneille his reputation, and ordered a criticism to be written upon the Cid. Those, therefore, who flattered skilfully, said little to him of his abilities in state affairs, or at least but *en passant*, and as it might naturally occur. But the incense which they gave him, the smoke of which, they knew, would turn his head in their favour, was as a *bel esprit* and a poet. Why ? Because he was sure of one excellency, and distrustful as to the other.

“ You will easily discover every man’s prevailing vanity, by observing his favourite topic of conversation ; for every man talks most of what he has most a  
mind

mind to be thought to excel in. Touch him but there, and you touch him to the quick. The late Sir Robert Walpole, (who was certainly an able man) was little open to flattery upon that head; for he was in no doubt himself about it; but his prevailing weakness was, to be thought to have a polite and happy turn to gallantry; of which he had undoubtedly less than any man living: it was his favourite and frequent subject of conversation; which proved, to those who had any penetration, that it was his prevailing weakness. And they applied to it with success.

“ Women have, in general, but one object, which is their beauty; upon which, scarce any flattery is too gross for them to swallow. Nature has hardly formed a woman ugly enough, to be insensible to flattery upon her person; if her face is so shocking, that she must, in some degree, be conscious of it, her figure and her air, she trusts, make ample amends for it. If her figure is deformed, her face, she thinks, counterbalances it. If they are both bad, she comforts herself, that she has graces; a certain manner; a *je ne sçais quoi*, still more engaging than beauty. This truth is evident, from the studied and elaborate dress of the ugliest women

women in the world. An undoubted, uncontested, conscious beauty, is, of all women, the least sensible of flattery upon that head; she knows it is her due, and is therefore obliged to nobody for giving it her. She must be flattered upon her understanding; which, though she may possibly not doubt of herself, yet she suspects that men may distrust.

“ Do not mistake me, and think that I mean to recommend to you abject and criminal flattery: no; flatter nobody’s vices or crimes: on the contrary, abhor and discourage them. But there is no living in the world without a complaisant indulgence for people’s weaknesses, and innocent, though ridiculous vanities. If a man has a mind to be thought wiser, and a woman handsomer, than they really are, their error is a comfortable one to themselves, and an innocent one with regard to other people; and I would rather make them my friends, by indulging them in it, than my enemies, by endeavouring (and that to no purpose) to undeceive them.

“ There are little attentions, likewise, which are infinitely engaging, and which sensibly affect that degree of pride and self-love, which is inseparable from human



man nature; as they are unquestionable proofs of the regard and consideration which we have for the persons to whom we pay them. As for example; to observe the little habits, the likings, the antipathies, and the tastes of those whom we would gain; and then take care to provide them with the one, and to secure them from the other; giving them, genteely, to understand, that you had observed they liked such a dish, or such a room; for which reason you had prepared it: or, on the contrary, that having observed they had an aversion to such a dish, a dislike to such a person, &c. you had taken care to avoid presenting them. Such attention, to such trifles, flatters self-love much more than greater things, as it makes people think themselves almost the only objects of your thoughts and care.

“ These are some of the arcana’s necessary for your initiation in the great society of the world. I wish I had known them better, at your age; I have paid the price of three-and-fifty years for them, and shall not grudge it, if you reap the advantage. Adieu.”

The earl of Chesterfield writes several other letters to his son before his resignation;

tion; but, as they contain nothing interesting, I shall not trouble the reader with them, but proceed to the general system.

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## CHAP. VI.

*His Lordship resigns the Secretaryship, and resolves on a life of Retirement. The second Part of the System of Education, delivered in a series of Letters to his Son, with moral and critical Observations.*

The earl of Chesterfield, finding his health declining, resigned his office of secretary of state (which he had exercised with equal integrity and ability) on the sixth day of February, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight. He gives the following account of his resignation, and his reasons for it, in a letter to his son.

London Feb. 9th; O. S. 1748.

“ DEAR BOY,

“ **Y**OU will receive this letter, not from a secretary of state, but from a private man; for whom, at his time of life, quiet was as fit, and as necessary, as labour and activity are for you at your age, and for many years still to come.

come. I resigned the seals, last Saturday, to the King; who parted with me most graciously, and (I may add, for he said so himself) with regret. As I retire from hurry to quiet, and to enjoy, at my ease, the comforts of private and social life, you will easily imagine that I have no thoughts of opposition, or meddling with business. *Otium cum dignitate*, is my object. The former I now enjoy; and I hope that my conduct and character entitle me to some share of the latter. In short, I am now happy; and I found that I could not be so in my former public situation.

“ As I like your correspondence better than that of all the kings, princes, and ministers in Europe, I shall now have leisure to carry it on more regularly. My letters to you will be written, I am sure, by me, and, I hope, read by you, with pleasure; which, I believe, seldom happens, reciprocally, to letters written from and to a secretary's office.

“ Do not apprehend that my retirement from business may be a hindrance to your advancement in it, at a proper time; on the contrary, it will promote it: for, having nothing to ask for myself, I shall have the better title to ask for you. But you have still a surer way than this of  
 rising

rising, and which is wholly in your own power. Make yourself necessary ; which, with your natural parts, you may, by application, do. We are in geneal, in England, ignorant of foreign affairs ; and of the interests, views, pretensions and policy of other courts. That part of knowledge never enters into our thoughts, nor makes part of our education ; for which reason, we have fewer proper subjects for foreign commissions, than any other country in Europe ; and, when foreign affairs happen to be debated in parliament, it is incredible with how much ignorance. The harvest of foreign affairs being then so great, and the labourers so few, if you make yourself master of them, you will make yourself necessary ; first as a foreign, and then as a domestic minister for that department.

“ I am extremely well pleased with the account which you give me, of the allotment of your time. Do but go on so, for two years longer, and I will ask no more of you. Your labours will be their own reward ; but if you desire any other, that I can add, you may depend upon it.

“ I am glad that you perceive the indecency and turpitude of those of your *compagnons*, who disgrace and foul themselves with

with dirty w—s and scoundrel gamesters. And the light in which, I am sure, you see all reasonable and decent people consider them, will be a good warning to you.

Adieu."

The following letter is a sequel to the former: it shews us his lordship settled in retirement, and concludes with some of those instructions, which are afterwards carried on without interruption, and which form a most elegant system of morals and manners.

Bath, Feb. 16th, O. S. 1748.

"DEAR BOY,

"The first use that I made of my liberty, was to come here, where I arrived yesterday. My health, though not fundamentally bad, yet, for want of proper attention of late, wanted some repairs, which these waters never fail giving it. I shall drink them a month, and return to London, there to enjoy the comforts of social life, instead of groaning under the load of business. I have given the description of the life that I propose to lead for the future, in this motto, which I have put up in the frize of my library in my new house;

V O L. I.

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*Nunc*

*Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno, et inertibus horis  
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivio vitæ.*

I must observe to you, upon this occasion, that the uninterrupted satisfaction which I expect to find in that library, will be chiefly owing to my having employed some part of my life, well at your age. I wish I had employed it better, and my satisfaction would now be complete; but, however, I planted, while young, that degree of knowledge which is now my refuge and my shelter. Make your plantations still more extensive, they will more than pay you for your trouble.

“ I do not regret the time that I passed in pleasures; they were reasonable, they were the pleasures of youth, and I enjoyed them while young. If I had not, I should probably have overvalued them now, as we are very apt to do what we do not know: but, knowing them as I do, I know their real value, and how much they are generally over-rated. Nor do I regret the time that I have passed in business, for the same reason; those who see only the outside of it, imagine that it has hidden charms, which they pant after; and nothing but acquaintance can undeceive them. I, who have been behind  
the



the scenes, both of pleasure and business, and have seen all the springs and pullies of those decorations which astonish and dazzle the audience, retire, not only without regret, but with contentment and satisfaction. But what I do, and ever shall regret, is the time which, while young, I lost in mere idleness, and in doing nothing. This is the common effect of the inconsideracy of youth, against which I beg you will be most carefully upon your guard. The value of moments, when cast up, is immense, if well employed; if thrown away, their loss is irrecoverable. Every moment may be put to some use, and that with much more pleasure than if unemployed.

“ Do not imagine, that, by the employment of time, I mean an uninterrupted application to serious studies. No; pleasures are, at proper times, both as necessary and as useful: they fashion and form you for the world; they teach you characters, and shew you the human heart in its unguarded minutes. But then remember to make that use of them. I have known many people, from laziness of mind, go thorough both pleasure and business, with equal inattention; neither enjoying the one, nor doing the other: thinking themselves men of pleasure, be-

cause they were mingled with those who were, and men of business because they had business to do, though they did not do it. Whatever you do, do it to the purpose; do it thoroughly, not superficially. *Approfondissez*; go to the bottom of things. Any thing half done, or half known, is, in my mind, neither done nor known at all. Nay worse, for it often misleads. There is hardly any place, or any company, where, you may not gain knowledge, if you please; almost every body knows some one thing, and is glad to talk upon that one thing. Seek and you will find, in this world as well as in the next. See every thing, inquire into every thing; and you may excuse your curiosity, and the questions you ask, which otherwise might be thought impertinent, by your manner of asking them; for most things depend a great deal upon the manner. As for example; *I am afraid that I am very troublesome with my questions; but nobody can inform me so well as you; or something of that kind.*

“ Now, that you are in a Lutheran country, go to their churches, and observe the manner of their public worship; attend to their ceremonies, and inquire the meaning and intention of every one of them. And, as you will soon understand

And

German

German well enough, attend to their sermons, and observe their manner of preaching. Inform yourself of their church-government; whether it resides in the sovereign, or in consistories and synods. Whence arises the maintenance of their clergy; whether from tythes, as in England, or from voluntary contributions, or from pensions from the state. Do the same thing when you are in Roman Catholic countries; go to their churches, see all their ceremonies; ask the meaning of them, get the terms explained to you. As for instance; prime, tierce, sexte, nones, mattins, angelus, high mass, vespers, complies, &c. Inform yourself of their several religious orders, their founders, their rules, their vows, their habits, their revenues, &c. But when you frequent places of public worship, as I would have you go to all the different ones you meet with, remember, that, however erroneous, they are none of them objects of laughter and ridicule. Honest error is to be pitied, not ridiculed. The object of all the public worships in the world is the same; it is that great eternal Being, who created every thing. The different manners of worship are by no means subjects of ridicule. Each sect thinks its own the best;

and I know no infallible judge, in this world, to decide which is the best.

“ Make the same inquiries, wherever you are, concerning the revenues, the military establishment, the trade, the commerce, and the police of every country. And you would do well to keep a blank paper book, which the Germans call an *Album*; and there, instead of desiring, as they do, every fool they meet with to scribble something, write down all these things, as soon as they come to your knowledge from good authorities.

“ I had almost forgotten one thing, which I would recommend as an object for your curiosity and information, that is the administration of justice; which, as it is always carried on in open court, you may, and I would have you, go and see it, with attention and inquiry.”

Having mentioned religion slightly in his last, his lordship next touches on morals, and illustrates, in great learning, the danger of excess, even in the best things.

“ Every excellency, and every virtue,” observes he, “ has its kindred vice or weakness; and, if carried beyond certain bounds, sinks into the one or the other. Generosity often runs into profusion, economy into avarice, courage into rashness, caution into timidity, and so on:—info-  
much

much that, I believe, there is more judgment required, for the proper conduct of our virtues, than for avoiding their opposite vices. Vice, in its true light, is so deformed, that it shocks us at first sight; and would hardly ever seduce us, if it did not, at first, wear the mask of some virtue. But virtue is, in itself, so beautiful, that it charms us at first sight; engages us more and more, upon further acquaintance; and, as with other beauties, we think excess impossible: it is here that judgment is necessary, to moderate and direct the effects of an excellent cause. I shall apply this reasoning, at present, not to any particular virtue, but to an excellency, which, for want of judgment, is often the cause of ridiculous and blameable effects; I mean, great learning, which, if not accompanied with sound judgment, frequently carries us into error, pride, and pedantry. As, I hope, you will possess that excellency in its utmost extent, and yet without its too common failings, the hints, which my experience can suggest, may, probably, not be useless to you.

“ Some learned men, proud of their knowledge, only speak to decide, and give judgment without appeal. The consequence of which is, that mankind, provoked by the insult, and injured by the

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oppression, revolt ; and, in order to shake off the tyranny, even call the lawful authority in question. The more you know, the modester you should be : and, (by the bye) that modesty is the surest way of gratifying your vanity. Even where you are sure, seem rather doubtful : represent, but do not pronounce ; and, if you would convince others, seem open to conviction yourself.

“ Others, to show their learning, or often from the prejudices of a school-education, where they hear of nothing else, are always talking of the Ancients, as something more than men, and of the Moderns as something less. They are never without a classic or two in their pockets ; they stick to the old good sense ; they read none of the modern trash ; and will show you plainly, that no improvement has been made, in any one art or science, these last seventeen hundred years. I would by no means have you disown your acquaintance with the Ancients ; but still less would I have you brag of an exclusive intimacy with them. Speak of the Moderns without contempt, and of the Ancients without idolatry ; judge them all by their merits, but not by their ages ; and, if you happen to have an Elzevir

*classico*



classic in your pocket, neither show it nor mention it.

“ Some great scholars, most absurdly, draw all their maxims, both for public and private life, from what they call parallel cases in the ancient authors; without considering, that, in the first place, there never were, since the creation of the world, two cases exactly parallel: and, in the next place, that there never was a case stated, or even known, by any historian, with every one of its circumstances; which, however, ought to be known, in order to be reasoned from. Reason upon the case itself, and the several circumstances that attend it, and act accordingly; but not from the authority of ancient poets or historians. Take into your consideration, if you please, cases seemingly analogous; but take them as helps only, not as guides. We are really so prejudiced by our educations; that, as the ancients deified their heroes, we deify their madmen: of which, with all due regard to antiquity, I take Leonidas and Curtius to have been two distinguished ones. And yet a solid pedant would, in a speech in parliament, relative to a tax of two-pence in the pound, upon some commodity or other, quote those two heroes, as examples of what we ought to do, and suffer for

our country. I have known these absurdities carried so far, by people of injudicious learning, that I should not be surprized, if some of them were to propose, while we are at war with the Gauls, that a number of geese should be kept in the tower, upon account of the infinite advantage which Rome received, *in a parallel case*, from a certain number of geese in the Capitol. This way of reasoning, and this way of speaking, will always form a poor politician, and a puerile declaimer.

“ There is another species of learned men, who, though less dogmatical and supercilious, are not less impertinent. These are the communicative and shining pedants, who adorn their conversation, even with women, by happy quotations of Greek and Latin, and who have contracted such a familiarity with the Greek and Roman authors, that they call them by certain names or epithets denoting intimacy. As *old* Homer; that *sly* rogue Horace; *Maro*, instead of Virgil; and *Naso*, instead of Ovid. These are often imitated by coxcombs, who have no learning at all; but who have got some names, and some scraps of ancient authors by heart, which they improperly and impertinently retail in all companies, in hopes  
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of passing for scholars. If, therefore, you would avoid the accusation of pedantry, on one hand, or the suspicion of ignorance, on the other, abstain from learned ostentation. Speak the language of the company that you are in; speak it purely, and unlarded with any other. Never seem wiser, nor more learned, than the people you are with. Wear your learning, like your watch, in a private pocket; and do not pull it out, and strike it, merely to show that you have one. If you are asked what o'clock it is, tell it; but do not proclaim it hourly and unasked, like the watchman."

These precepts are certainly excellent: but, since his lordship saw the propriety of speaking the language of the *company* one is in pure, and *unlarded* with any other, is it not surprising that he should lard the language of his country so much in all his writings!—Would it not have been more to his honour, to have chosen the happiest phrases our language afforded; and, where these failed, to have introduced others, without a foreign idiom?

Not satisfied, like some people, with shewing the wrong side of things, as if nothing more were necessary to make the right agreeable, his lordship enforces politeness by argument.

“ I must, from time to time, remind you,” says he, “ to *sacrifice to the Graces*. The different effects of the same things, said or done, when accompanied or abandoned by them, is almost inconceivable. They prepare the way to the heart; and the heart has such an influence over the understanding, that it is worth while to engage it in our interest. It is the whole of women, who are guided by nothing else; and it has so much to say, even with men, and the ablest men too, that it commonly triumphs in every struggle with the understanding.

“ Monsieur de Rochefoucault, in his maxims, says, that *l'esprit est souvent la dupe du cœur*. If he had said, instead of *souvent*, *presque toujours*, I fear he would have been nearer the truth. This being the case, aim at the heart. Intrinsic merit alone will not do: it will gain you the general esteem of all; but not the particular affection, that is the heart of any. To engage the affection of any particular person, you must, over and above your general merit, have some particular merit to that person; by services done, or offered; by expressions of regard and esteem; by complaisance, attentions, &c. for him; and the graceful manner of doing all these things opens their way to

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the heart, and facilitates, or rather insures, their effects.

“ From your own observation, reflect what a disagreeable impression an awkward address, a slovenly figure, an ungraceful manner of speaking, whether stuttering, muttering, monotony, or drawling; an unattentive behaviour, &c. make upon you, at first sight, in a stranger, and how they prejudice you against him, though, for ought you know, he may have great intrinsic sense and merit. And reflect, on the other hand, how much the opposites of all these things prepossess you, at first sight, in favour of those who enjoy them. You wish to find all good qualities in them, and are in some degree disappointed if you do not.

A thousand little things, not separately to be defined, conspire to form these graces, this *je ne sçais quoi*, that always please. A pretty person, genteel motions, a proper degree of dress, an harmonious voice, something open and chearful in the countenance, but without laughing; a distinct and properly varied manner of speaking: all these things, and many others, are necessary ingredients in the composition of the pleasing *je ne sçais quoi*, which every body feels, though no body can describe. Observe carefully, then, what

what displeases or pleases you, in others; and be persuaded, that, in general, the same things will please or displease them, in you."

These observations are truly valuable; but the following, with regard to laughter, seem rather finical: they let us, however, into a curious particular in his lordship's character.

"Having mentioned laughing, I must particularly warn you against it: and I could heartily wish, that you may often be seen to smile, but never heard to laugh, while you live. Frequent and loud laughter is the characteristic of folly and ill manners: it is the manner in which the mob express their silly joy, at silly things; and they call it being merry. In my mind, there is nothing so illiberal, and so ill-bred, as audible laughter. True wit, or sense, never yet made any body laugh; they are above it: they please the mind, and give a cheerfulness to the countenance. But it is low buffoonery, or silly accidents, that always excite laughter; and that is what people of sense and breeding should show themselves above. A man's going to sit down, in the supposition that he has a chair behind him, and falling down upon his breech for want of one, sets a whole company a laughing, when



when all the wit in the world would not do it; a plain proof, in my mind, how low and unbecoming a thing laughter is. Not to mention the disagreeable noise that it makes, and the shocking distortion of the face that it occasions. Laughter is easily restrained, by a very little reflection; but, as it is generally connected with the idea of gaiety, people do not enough attend to its absurdity. I am neither of a melancholy, nor a cynical disposition; and am as willing, and as apt to be pleased as any body; but I am sure that, since I have had the full use of my reason, nobody has ever heard me laugh."

The remark that follows is of more consequence:

"Many people, at first from awkwardness and *mauvaise honte*, have got a very disagreeable and silly trick of laughing, whenever they speak: and I know a man of very good parts, Mr. Waller, who cannot say the commonest thing without laughing; which makes those, who do not know him, take him at first for a natural fool. This and many other very disagreeable habits, are owing to *mauvaise honte* at their first setting out in the world. They are ashamed in company, and so disconcerted, that they do not know what they do, and try a thousand tricks to keep

keep themselves in countenance; which tricks afterwards grow habitual to them. Some put their fingers in their nose, others scratch their head, others twirl their hats; in short, every awkward, ill-bred body has his trick. But the frequency does not justify the thing; and all these vulgar habits and awkwardness, though not criminal indeed, are most carefully to be guarded against, as they are great bars in the way of the art of pleasing."

The earl of Chesterfield next recommends to his son such books as are necessary to lay the foundation of political knowledge, and gives him some rules for the study of Modern History; in which he discovers much learning and political discernment.

"I am pleased to find,"—says he,—  
 "that you have read with attention Cail-  
 lieres, Pequet, and Richelieu's Letters.  
 The Memoirs of the Cardinal de Retz,  
 will both entertain and instruct you; they  
 relate to a very interesting period of the  
 French history, the ministry of Cardinal  
 Mazarin, during the minority of Lewis  
 XIV. The characters of all the consider-  
 able people of that time are drawn, in a  
 short, strong, and masterly manner; and  
 the political reflections, which are most  
 of them printed in Italics, are the justest  
 that

that ever I met with ; they are not the laboured reflections of a systematical closet politician, who, without the least experience of business, sits at home and writes maxims ; but they are the reflections which a great and able man formed, from long experience, and practice, in great business. They are true conclusions, drawn from facts, not from speculations.

“ As Modern History is particularly your business, I will give you some rules to direct your study of it. It begins, properly, with Charlemagne, in the year 800. But as, in those times of ignorance, the priests and monks were almost the only people that could or did write, we have scarcely any histories of those times but such as they have been pleased to give us ; which are compounds of ignorance, superstition, and party zeal. So that a general notion of what is rather supposed, than really known to be, the history of the five or six following centuries, seems to be sufficient : and much time would be but ill employed in a minute attention to those legends. But reserve your utmost care, and most diligent inquiries, for the fifteenth century, and downwards. Then learning began to revive, and credible histories to be written ; Europe began to take the form, which, to some degree,

it still retains, at least the foundations of the present great powers of Europe were then laid. Lewis the Eleventh made France, in truth, a monarchy, or, as he used to say himself, *la mit hors de Page*. Before his time, there were independent provinces in France, as the Dutchy of Brittany, &c. whose princes tore it to pieces, and kept it in constant domestic confusion. Lewis the Eleventh reduced all these petty States, by fraud, force, or marriage: for he scrupled no means to obtain his ends.

“ About that time, Ferdinand king of Arragon, and Isabella his wife, queen of Castile, united the whole Spanish monarchy; and drove the Moors out of Spain, who had till then kept possession of Granada. About that time too, the House of Austria laid the great foundations of its subsequent power; first, by the marriage of Maximilian with the heiress of Burgundy; and then, by the marriage of his son Philip, archduke of Austria, with Jane, the daughter of Isabella, queen of Spain, and heiress of that whole kingdom, and of the West Indies. By the first of these marriages, the House of Austria acquired the seventeen provinces; and by the latter, Spain and America; all which centered in the person of Charles the Fifth, son of the above-

mentioned archduke, Philip, the son of Maximilian. It was upon account of these two marriages, that the following Latin distich was made :

*Bella gerant alii, Tu felix Austria nube,  
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.*

“ This immense power, which the Emperor Charles the Fifth found himself possessed of, gave him a desire for universal power, (for people never desire all till they have gotten a great deal) and alarmed France : this sowed the seeds of that jealousy and enmity, which have flourished ever since, between those two great powers. Afterwards the House of Austria was weakened by the division made by Charles the Fifth of its dominions, between his son, Philip the Second of Spain, and his brother Ferdinand ; and has ever since been dwindling to the weak condition in which it now is. This is a most interesting part of the history of Europe, of which it is most absolutely necessary that you should be exactly and minutely informed.”

Dr. Robertson's History of the Reign of Charles V. yields all the information relative to this period that can be desired.

“ There are,” continues he, “ in the history of most countries, certain very remarkable æras, which deserve more particular

inquiry and attention than the common run of history. Such is the revolt of the seventeen provinces; in the reign of Philip the Second of Spain; which ended in forming the present Republic of the seven United Provinces; whose independency was first allowed by Spain at the treaty of Munster. Such was the extraordinary revolution of Portugal, in the year 1640, in favour of the present House of Braganza. Such is the famous revolution of Sweden, when Christian the Second of Denmark, who was also king of Sweden, was driven out by Gustavus Vasa. And such, also, is that memorable æra in Denmark, of 1660; when the States of that kingdom made a voluntary surrender of all their rights and liberties to the crown; and changed that free state into the most absolute monarchy now in Europe. The *Acta Regia*, upon that occasion, are worth your perusing. These remarkable periods of Modern History deserve your particular attention, and most of them have been treated singly by good historians, which are worth your reading.

“ The revolutions of Sweden, and of Portugal, are most admirably well written, by L'Abbé de Vertot; they are short, and will not take twelve hours reading. There is another book which very well deserves your looking into, but not worth



your buying at present, because it is not portable: if you can borrow, or hire it, you should; and that is, *L'Histoire des Traités de Paix*, in two volumes, folio, which make part of the *Corps Diplomatique*. You will there find a short and clear history, and the substance of every treaty made in Europe, during the last century, from the treaty of Vervins. Three parts in four of this book are not worth your reading, as they relate to treaties of very little importance; but if you select the most considerable ones, read them with attention, and take some notes, it will be of great use to you. Attend chiefly to those in which the great powers of Europe are the parties; such as the treaty of the Pyrenées, between France and Spain; the treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswick: but, above all, the treaty of Munster should be most circumstantially and minutely known to you, as almost every treaty made since has some reference to it. For this, Pere Bougeant is the best book you can read, as it takes in the thirty years war, which preceded that treaty. The treaty itself, which is made a perpetual law of the empire, comes in the course of your lectures upon the *Jus Publicum Imperii*.

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His lordship, in the course of his historical remarks, proceeds next to speak of the Reformation.

“ You have, doubtless,”—says he,—“ considered the causes of that great event, and observed, that disappointment and resentment had a much greater share in it, than a religious zeal, or an abhorrence of the errors and abuses of Popery.

“ Luther, an Augustin Monk, enraged that his order, and consequently himself, had not the exclusive privilege of selling indulgences, but that the Dominicans were let into a share of that profitable but infamous trade, turns reformer, and exclaims against the abuses, the corruption, and the idolatry, of the church of Rome; which were certainly gross enough for him to have seen long before, but which he had at least acquiesced in, till what he called the rights, that is the profit, of his order, came to be touched. It is true, the church of Rome furnished him ample matter for complaint and reformation, and he laid hold of it ably. This seems to me the true cause of that great and necessary work : but, whatever the cause was, the effect was good : and the reformation spread itself by its own truth and fitness ; was conscientiously received by great numbers in Germany, and other countries ;

countries ; and was soon afterwards mixed up with the politics of princes : and, as it always happens in religious disputes, became the specious covering of injustice and ambition.

“ Under the pretence of crushing Heresy, as it was called, the House of Austria meant to extend and establish its power in the empire : as, on the other hand, many Protestant princes, under the pretence of extirpating idolatry, or, at least, of securing toleration, meant only to enlarge their own dominions or privileges. These views respectively, among the chiefs on both sides, much more than true religious motives, continued what were called the religious wars, in Germany, almost uninterruptedly, till the affairs of the two religions were finally settled by the treaty of Munster.”

This account of the Reformation is somewhat severe, but certainly just. He continues his historical observations with a true philosophical spirit.

“ Were most historical events traced up to their true causes, I fear we should not find them much more noble, nor disinterested, than Luther’s disappointed avarice ; and therefore I look with some contempt upon those refining and sagacious historians, who ascribe all, even the most common

common events, to some deep political cause; whereas mankind is made up of inconsistencies, and no man acts invariably up to his predominant character. The wisest man sometimes acts weakly, and the weakest sometimes wisely. Our jarring passions, our variable humours, nay, our greater or lesser degree of health and spirits, produce such contradictions in our conduct, that, I believe, those are the oftenest mistaken, who ascribe our actions to the most seemingly obvious motives: and I am convinced, that a light supper, a good night's sleep, and a fine morning, have sometimes made a hero, of the same man, who, by an indigestion, a restless night, and a rainy morning, would have proved a coward. Our best conjectures, therefore, as to the true springs of actions, are but very uncertain; and the actions themselves are all that we must pretend to know from history. That Cesar was murdered by twenty-three conspirators, I make no doubt; but I very much doubt, that their love of liberty, and of their country, was their sole, or even principal motive; and I dare say that, if the truth were known, we should find that many other motives, at least concurred, even in the great Brutus himself; such as pride, envy, personal pique,

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and disappointment. Nay, I cannot help carrying my Pyrrhonism still further, and extending it often to historical facts themselves, at least to most of the circumstances with which they are related; and every day's experience confirms me in this historical incredulity. Do we ever hear the most recent fact related exactly in the same way, by the several people who were at the same time eye-witnesses of it? No. One mistakes, another misrepresents; and others warp it a little to their own turn of mind, or private views. A man, who has been concerned in a transaction, will not write it fairly; and a man who has not, cannot.

“ But, notwithstanding all this uncertainty, history is not the less necessary to be known; as the best histories are taken for granted, and are the frequent subjects both of conversation and writing. Though I am convinced that Cesar's ghost never appeared to Brutus, yet I should be much ashamed to be ignorant of that fact, as related by the historians of those times. Thus the Pagan theology is universally received as matter for writing and conversation, though believed now by nobody; and we talk of Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, &c. as Gods, though we know, that, if they ever existed at all, it was

only as mere mortal men. This historical Pyrrhonism, then, proves nothing against the study and knowledge of history; which, of all other studies, is the most necessary, for a man who is to live in the world. It only points out to us, not to be too decisive and peremptory; and to be cautious how we draw inferences, for our own practice, from remote facts, partially or ignorantly related; of which we can, at best, but imperfectly guess, and certainly not know the real motives.

“ The testimonies of Ancient History must necessarily be weaker than those of Modern, as all testimony grows weaker and weaker, as it is more and more remote from us. I would therefore advise you to study Ancient History in general, as other people do; that is, not to be ignorant of any of those facts which are universally received, upon the faith of the best historians; and, whether true or false, you have them as other people have them. But Modern History, I mean particularly that of the three last centuries, is what I would have you apply to with the greatest attention and exactness. There the probability of coming at the truth is much greater, as the testimonies are much more recent; besides, anecdotes, memoirs, and  
original



original letters, often come to the aid of Modern History."

Sensible that the human mind delights in variety, the earl of Chesterfield, instead of continuing his historical observations with the regularity of a school-master, extends that Pyrronism to common opinions, which he had already exercised upon historical facts. After observing, that a courtier, without parts or knowledge, is the most contemptible of all beings, and a man of parts and knowledge, who acquires the manners of a court, the most perfect, he says, "It is a trite, common-place observation, that courts are the seats of falsehood and dissimulation. That, like many, I might say most, common-place observations, is false. Falsehood and dissimulation are certainly to be found at courts; but where are they not to be found? Cottages have them, as well as courts; only with worse manners. A couple of neighbouring farmers, in a village, will contrive and practise as many tricks, to over-reach each other at the next market, or to supplant each other in the favour of the 'squire, as any two courtiers can do to supplant each other in the favour of their prince. Whatever poets may write, or fools believe, of rural innocence and truth, and of the perfidy

of courts, this is undoubtedly true—that shepherds and ministers are both men; their nature and passions the same, the modes of them only different.

“ Having mentioned common-place observations, I will particularly caution you against either using, believing, or approving them. They are the common topics of wittings and coxcombs; those, who really have wit, have the utmost contempt for them, and scorn even to laugh at the pert things that those would-be wits say upon such subjects.

“ Religion is one of their favourite topics; it is all priest-craft; and an invention contrived and carried on by priests, of all religions, for their own power and profit: from this absurd and false principle flow the common-place, insipid jokes and insults upon the clergy. With these people, every priest, of every religion, is either a public or a concealed unbeliever, drunkard, and whoremaster; whereas I conceive, that priests are extremely like other men, and neither the better nor the worse for wearing a gown or a surplice; but, if they are different from other people, probably it is rather on the side of religion and morality, or at least decency, from their education and manner of life.

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“ Another common topic for false wit, and cold raillery, is matrimony. Every man and his wife hate each other cordially, whatever they may pretend, in public, to the contrary. The husband certainly wishes his wife at the devil, and the wife certainly cuckolds her husband. Whereas, I presume, that men and their wives neither love nor hate each other the more, upon account of the form of matrimony which has been said over them. The cohabitation, indeed, which is the consequence of matrimony, makes them either love or hate more, accordingly as they respectively deserve it; but that would be exactly the same, between any man and woman, who lived together without being married.

“ These, and many other commonplace reflections upon nations, or professions, in general (which are at least as often false as true) are the poor refuge of people who have neither wit nor invention of their own, but endeavour to shine in company by second-hand finery. I always put these pert jackanapes's out of countenance, by looking extremely grave, when they expect that I should laugh at their pleasantries; and by saying *well, and so*; as if they had not done, and that the sting were still to come. This disconcerts

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them; as they have no resources in themselves, and have but one set of jokes to live upon. Men of parts are not reduced to these shifts, and have the utmost contempt for them: they find proper subjects enough for either useful or lively conversations; they can be witty without satire or common-place, and serious without being dull.

“ The frequentation of courts, checks this petulancy of manners; the good-breeding and circumspection which are necessary, and only to be learned there, correct those pertnesses. In courts, a versatility of genius, and a softness of manners, are absolutely necessary; which some people mistake for abject flattery, and having no opinion of one's own: whereas it is only the decent and genteel manner of maintaining your own opinion, and possibly of bringing other people to it. The manner of doing things is often more important than the things themselves; and the very same thing may become either pleasing, or offensive, by the manner of saying or doing it. *Materiam superabat opus*, is often said of works of sculpture; where, though the materials were valuable, as silver, gold, &c. the workmanship was still more so. This holds true, applied to manners; which adorn

adorn whatever knowledge or parts people may have ; and even make a greater impression, upon nine in ten of mankind, than the intrinsic value of the materials. On the other hand, remember, that what Horace says of good writing is justly applicable to those who would make a good figure in courts, and distinguish themselves in the shining parts of life ; *sapere est principium et fons*. A man, who, without a good fund of knowledge and parts, adopts a court life, makes the most ridiculous figure imaginable. He is a machine, little superior to the court clock ; and, as this points out the hours, he points out the frivolous employment of them. He is, at most, a comment upon the clock ; and, according to the hours that it strikes, tells you now it is levee, now dinner, now supper time, &c.

“ The end which I propose by your education, and which (*if you please*) I shall certainly attain, is, to unite in you all the knowledge of a scholar, with the manners of a courtier : and to join, what is seldom joined in any of my countrymen, books and the world. They are commonly twenty years old before they have spoken to any body above their schoolmaster, and the fellows of their college. If they happen to have learning, it is only Greek and Latin ;

but not one word of modern history, or modern languages. Thus prepared, they go abroad, as they call it; but, in truth, they stay at home all that while; for, being very awkward, confoundedly ashamed, and not speaking the languages, they go into no foreign company, at least none good; but dress and sup with one another only, at the tavern. Such examples, I am sure, you will not imitate, but even carefully avoid. You will always take care to keep the best company in the place, where you are, which is the only use of travelling: and (by the way) the pleasures of a gentleman are only to be found in the best company; for that riot which low company, most falsely and impudently, call pleasure, is only the sensuality of a swine."

In illustration of what his lordship here says, upon the abuse of foreign travelling, I shall introduce a letter from a young gentleman at Rome to his father in England, well known to be written by the same masterly hand.

"SIR,

"In the six weeks that I passed at Florence, and the week that I stayed at Genoa, I never had time to write to you, being wholly taken up with seeing things, of which the most remarkable is the steeple  
of



of Pisa; it is the oddest thing I ever saw in my life; it stands all awry: I wonder it does not tumble down. I met with a great many of my countrymen, and we live together very sociably. I have been here now a month; and will give you an account of my way of life. Here are a great many very agreeable English gentlemen; we are about nine or ten, as smart bucks as any in England. We constantly breakfast together; and then either go and see sights, or drive about the outlets of Rome in chaises: but the horses are very bad, and the chaises do not follow well. We meet before dinner at the English coffee-house; where there is a very good billiard table, and very good company. From thence we go and dine together, by turns, at each other's lodgings. Then, after a chearful glass of claret (for we have made a shift to get some here) we go to the coffee-house again; from thence to supper, and so to bed.—I do not believe that these Romans are a bit like the old Romans; they are a parcel of thin-gutted, snivelling, cringing dogs; and I verily believe that our set could thrash forty of them. We never go among them; it would not be worth while: besides, we none of us speak Italian, and none of those

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seignors speak English ; which shows what sort of fellows they are."

Nothing can be more happily imagined than this letter ; and the following short account of a home-bred English gentleman in the presence of his sovereign, which serves to introduce the character of a well-bred man, is not perhaps inferior, and is a proper addenda to what was said of courts.

" How many men have I seen here," says his lordship, " who, after having had the full benefit of an English education, first at school, and then at the university ; when they have been presented to the King, did not know whether they stood upon their heads or their heels ? If the king spoke to them, they were annihilated ; they trembled, endeavoured to put their hands in their pockets and missed them, let their hats fall, and were ashamed to take them up ; and, in short, put themselves in every attitude but the right, that is, the easy and natural one.—The characteristic of a well-bred man is, to converse with his inferiors without insolence, and with his superiors with respect, and with ease. He talks to kings, without concern ; he trifles with women of the first condition, with familiarity, gaiety, but

but respect; and converses with his equals, whether he is acquainted with them or not, upon general common topics, that are not, however, quite frivolous, without the least concern of mind, or awkwardness of body: neither of which can appear to advantage, but when they are perfectly easy."

His lordship resumes his historical observations thus:

"There are many great events in history, which, when once they are over, leave things in the situation in which they found them. As for instance, the late war, 1741; which, excepting the establishment in Italy for Don Philip, leaves things pretty much *in statu quo*; a mutual restitution of all acquisitions being stipulated by the preliminaries of the peace. Such events undoubtedly deserve your notice, but yet not so minutely as those, which are not only important in themselves, but equally (or it may be more) important by their consequences too: of this latter sort were, the progress of the christian religion in Europe; the invasion of the Goths; the division of the Roman empire into western and eastern; the establishment and rapid progress of Mahometanism; and, lastly, the reformation: all which events produced the greatest

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changes

changes in the affairs of Europe, and to one or other of which, the present situation of all the parts of it is to be traced up.

“ Next to these, are those events which more immediately affect particular states and kingdoms, and which are reckoned merely local, though their influence may, and indeed very often does, indirectly, extend itself further; such as civil wars, and revolutions, from which a total change in the form of government frequently flows. The civil wars in England, in the reign of king Charles I. produced an intire change of the government here, from a limited monarchy to a commonwealth, at first, and afterwards to absolute power, usurped by Cromwell, under the pretence of protection, and the title of protector.

“ The revolution, in 1688, instead of changing, preserved our form of government; which king James II. intended to subvert, and establish absolute power in the crown.

“ These are the two great epochas in our English history, which I recommend to your particular attention.

“ The league formed by the house of Guise, and fomented by the artifices of Spain, is a most material part of the history

history of France. The foundation of it was laid in the reign of Henry II. but the superstructure was carried on through the successive reigns of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. till at last it was crushed, partly by the arms, but more by the apostacy, of Henry IV.

“ In Germany, great events have been frequent, by which the Imperial dignity has always either gotten or lost: and so far they have affected the constitution of the empire. The house of Austria kept that dignity to itself for near two hundred years, during which time it was always attempting to extend its power, by incroaching upon the rights and privileges of the other states of the empire; till, at the end of the *bellum tricennale*, the treaty of Munster, of which France is guarantee, fixed the respective claims.

“ Italy has been constantly torn to pieces, from the time of the Goths, by the popes and the anti-popes, severally supported by other great powers of Europe, more as their interest than as their religion led them. By the pretensions also of France, and the house of Austria, upon Naples, Sicily, and the Milanese; not to mention the various lesser causes of squabbles there, for the little states, such as Ferrara, Parma, Montferrat, &c.

“ The

“ The popes, till lately, have always taken a considerable part, and had great influence in the affairs of Europe: their excommunications bulls, and indulgences, stood instead of armies, in the times of ignorance and bigotry; but now, that mankind is better informed, the spiritual authority of the Pope is not only less regarded, but even despised by the Catholic princes themselves; and his Holiness is actually little more than bishop of Rome, with large temporalities; which he is not likely to keep longer than till the other greater powers in Italy shall find their conveniency in taking them from him. Among the modern popes, Leo the Xth, Alexander the VIth, and Sixtus Quintus, deserve your particular notice. The first, among other things, for his own learning and taste, and for his encouragement of the reviving arts and sciences in Italy. Under his protection, the Greek and Latin Classics were most excellently translated into Italian; painting flourished and arrived at its perfection; and sculpture came so near the ancients, that the works of his time, both in marble and bronze, are now called *Antico-Moderno*.

“ Alexander the VIth, together with his natural son, Cesar Borgia, was famous for his wickedness; in which he, and his son



son too, surpassed all imagination. Their lives are well worth your reading. They were poisoned, themselves, by the poisoned wine which they had prepared for others: the father died of it, but Cesar recovered.

“ Sixtus the Vth was the son of a swineherd; and raised himself to the popedom by his abilities: he was a great knave, but an able and a singular one.”

He concludes his observations on general history with the following judicious reflection and advice.

“ Many great readers load their memories, without exercising their judgments; and make lumber rooms of their heads, instead of furnishing them usefully: facts are heaped upon facts, without order or distinction, and may justly be said to compose that

————— *Rudis indigestaque moles*  
*Quem dixere chaos.*

Take nothing for granted, upon the bare authority of the author; but weigh and consider, in your own mind, the probability of the facts, and the justness of the reflections. Consult different authors upon the same facts, and form your opinion upon the greater or lesser degree of probability

bability arising from the whole; which, in my mind is the utmost stretch of historical faith: certainty (I fear) not being to be found. When an historian pretends to give you the causes and motives of events, compare those causes and motives with the characters and interests of the parties concerned, and judge for yourself, whether they correspond or not. Consider whether you cannot assign others more probable; and in that examination, do not despise some very mean and trifling causes of the actions of great men: for so various and inconsistent is human nature, so strong and so changeable are our passions, so fluctuating are our wills, and so much are our minds influenced by the accidents of our bodies, that every man is more the man of the day, than a regular and consequential character."

From general history, his lordship passes to the history of the Religious and Military Orders.

"You will do well,"—says he,—“to have a general notion of all the religious and military orders of Europe, ancient and modern; both as they are frequently the subjects of conversation, and as they are more or less interwoven with the histories of those times. Witness the Teutonic Order, which, as soon as it gained strength,

strength, began its unjust depredations in Germany, and acquired such considerable possessions there; and the Order of Maltha also, which continues to this day its piracies upon the Infidels. - Besides, one can go into no company in Germany, without running against *Monsieur le Chevalier*, or *Monsieur le Commandeur de l'Ordre Teutonique*. It is the same in all the other parts of Europe, with regard to the Order of Maltha; where you never go into company without meeting two or three *Chevaliers*, or *Commandeurs*, who talk of their *preuves*, their *langues*, their *caravanes*, &c. all which things I am sure you would not willingly be ignorant of. On the other hand, I do not mean that you should have a profound and minute knowledge of these matters, which are of a nature that a general knowledge of them is fully sufficient. I would not recommend to you to read Abbé Vertot's History of the Order of Maltha, in four quarto volumes; that would be employing a great deal of good time very ill. But I would have you know the foundations, the objects, the *Insignia*, and the short general history of them all.

“ As for the ancient religious military Orders, which were chiefly founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; such

as Maltha, the Teutonic, the Knights Templars, &c. the injustice and the wickedness of those establishments cannot, I am sure, have escaped your observation. Their pious object was, to take away, by force, other people's property; and to massacre the proprietors themselves, if they refused to give up that property, and adopt the opinions of these invaders. What right or pretence had these confederated Christians of Europe to the Holy Land? Let them produce their grant of it in the Bible? Will they say, that the Saracens had possessed themselves of it by force; and that, consequently, they had the same right. Is it lawful then to steal goods, because they were stolen before? Surely not. The truth is, that the wickedness of many, and the weakness of more, in those ages of ignorance and superstition, concurred to form those flagitious conspiracies against the lives and properties of unoffending people. The Pope sanctified the villany, and annexed the pardon of sins to the perpetration of it. This gave rise to the croisadoes, and carried such swarms of people from Europe to the conquests of the Holy Land. Peter the Hermit, an active and ambitious priest, by his indefatigable pains, was the immediate author of the first croisade; kings,

kings, princes, all professions and characters united, from different motives, in this great undertaking, as every sentiment, except true religion and morality, invited to it. The ambitious hoped for kingdoms ; the greedy and the necessitous for plunder ; and some were enthusiasts enough to hope for salvation, by the destruction of a considerable number of their fellow-creatures, who had done them no injury. I cannot omit, upon this occasion, telling you, that the Eastern emperors at Constantinople, (who, as Christians, were obliged, at least, to seem to favour these expeditions) seeing the immense numbers of the *Croisiez*, and fearing that the Western Empire might have some mind to the Eastern Empire too, if it succeeded against the Infidels, as *l'appetit vient en mangeant* ; these Eastern emperors, very honestly, poisoned the waters where the *Croisiez* were to pass, and so destroyed infinite numbers of them.

“ The later orders of knighthood ; such as the Garter in England ; the Elephant in Denmark ; the Golden Fleece in Burgundy ; the St. Esprit, St. Michel, St. Louis, and St. Lazare, in France, &c. are of a very different nature and institution. They were either the invitations to, or the rewards of, brave actions, in  
fair

fair war, and are now rather the decorations of the favour of the prince, than the proofs of the merit of the subject. However, they are worth your inquiries to a certain degree; and conversation will give you frequent opportunities for them. Wherever you are, I would advise you to inquire into the respective Orders of that country, and to write down a short account of them. For example; while you are in Saxony, get an account of *l'Aigle Blanc*, and of what other Orders there may be, either Polish or Saxon; and, when you shall be at Berlin, inform yourself of the three Orders there, *l'Aigle Noir*, *la Générosité*, et *le Vrai Mérite*, which are the only ones, that I know of, there. But whenever you meet with straggling ribbands and stars, as you will with a thousand in Germany, do not fail to inquire what they are, and to take a minute of them in your memorandum-book: for it is a sort of knowledge that costs little to acquire, and yet is of some use. Young people have frequently an incuriousness about them, arising either from laziness, or a contempt of the object, which deprives them of several such little parts of knowledge, that they afterwards wish they had acquired. If you will put conversation to profit, great knowledge may be  
gained



gained by it ; and is it not better (since it is full as easy) to turn it upon useful, than upon useless subjects ? People always talk best upon what they know most, and it is both pleasing them ; and improving one's-self, to put them upon that subject. With people of a particular profession, or of a distinguished eminency in any branch of learning, one is not at a loss : but with those, whether men or women, who properly constitute what is called the *beau monde*, one must not chuse deep subjects, nor hope to get any knowledge above that of orders, ranks, families, and court-anecdotes ; which are therefore the proper (and not altogether useless) subjects of that kind of conversation."

The transition was now easy to company and the world, subjects upon which his lordship always shines, and which he very justly considers as of more importance to a gentleman, than all other knowledge.

"Pleasing in company," observes he, "is the only way of being pleased in it yourself. Sense and knowledge are the first and necessary foundations for pleasing in company ; but they will by no means do alone, and they will never be perfectly welcome, if they are not accompanied with manners and attentions. You will best acquire these by frequenting the

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companies of people of fashion ; but then you must resolve to acquire them, in those companies, by proper care and observation ; for I have known people, who, though they have frequented good company all their life-time, have done it in so inattentive and unobserving a manner, as to be never the better for it, and to remain as disagreeable, as awkward, and as vulgar, as if they had never seen any person of fashion. When you go into good company (by good company is meant the people of the first fashion of the place) observe carefully their turn, their manners, their address ; and conform your own to them. But this is not all neither : go deeper still ; observe their characters, and pry, as far as you can, into both their hearts and their heads. Seek for their particular merit, their predominant passion, or their prevailing weakness ; and you will then know what to bait your hook with, to catch them. Man is a composition of so many, and such various ingredients, that it requires both time and care to analyse him : for though we have, all, the same ingredients in our general composition, as reason, will, passions, and appetites ; yet the different proportions and combinations of them, in each individual, produce that infinite variety  
of

of characters, which, in some particular or other, distinguishes every individual from another. Reason ought to direct the whole, but seldom does : and he who addresses himself singly to another man's reason, without endeavouring to engage his heart in his interest also, is no more likely to succeed, than a man who should apply only to a king's nominal minister, and neglect his favourite.

“ I will recommend to your attentive perusal, now that you are going into the world, two books, which will let you as much into the characters of men, as books can do. I mean, *Les Réflexions Morales de Monsieur de la Rochefoucault*, and *Les Caractères de La Bruyere* : but remember, at the same time, that I only recommend them to you as the best general maps, to assist you in your journey, and not as marking out every particular turning and winding that you will meet with. There, your own sagacity and observation must come to their aid. La Rochefoucault is, I know, blamed, but I think without reason, for deriving all our actions from the source of self love. For my own part, I see a great deal of truth, and no harm at all, in that opinion. It is certain, that we seek our own happiness in every thing we do ; and it is as certain, that

we can only find it in doing well, and in conforming all our actions to the rule of right reason, which is the great law of nature. It is only a mistaken self-love that is a blameable motive, when we take the immediate and indiscriminate gratification of a passion, or appetite, for real happiness. But am I blameable, if I do a good action, upon account of the happiness which that honest consciousness will give me? Surely not. On the contrary, that pleasing consciousness is a proof of my virtue. The reflection, which is the most censured in Monsieur de la Rochefoucault's book, as a very ill-natured one, is this; *On trouve dans le malheur de son meilleur ami, quelque chose qui ne deplait pas.* And why not? Why may I not feel a very tender and real concern for the misfortune of my friend, and yet at the same time feel a pleasing consciousness at having discharged my duty to him, by comforting and assisting him to the utmost of my power in that misfortune?

This is not a proper solution of Rochefoucault's maxim; which plainly intimates, that we find something which secretly pleases us, *qui ne deplait pas, dans le malheur de son meilleur ami*, in contemplating the misfortune of our best friend, not in reflecting, as his lordship supposes, on our own friendly conduct

*conduct* towards him while in distress. If we have such a feeling, as I hope we have not, it must therefore arise from a very ungenerous source.

“The characters of La Bruyere,” adds he, “are pictures from the life; most of them finely drawn, and highly coloured. Furnish your mind with them first; and when you meet with their likenesses, as you will every day, they will strike you the more. You will compare every feature with the original; and both will reciprocally help you to discover the beauties and the blemishes.”

The following observations on women are entirely consistent with what his lordship has already said of the sex, only more particular; and, though there is certainly a good deal of truth in them, I cannot help thinking them by much too severe: for there are many women possessed of real good-sense, and some who are as consistent in their conduct as the most solid of our sex can pretend to be.

“As women are a considerable, or at least a pretty numerous part of company; and as their suffrages go a great way towards establishing a man’s character, in the fashionable part of the world, (which is of great importance to the fortune and figure he proposes to make in it) it is necessary to please them. I will therefore,

VOL. I.

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upon this subject, let you into certain *arcanas*, that will be very useful for you to know, but which you must, with the utmost care, conceal ; and never seem to know. Women, then, are only children of a larger growth ; they have an entertaining tattle, and sometimes wit ; but for solid reasoning, good sense, I never in my life knew one that had it, or who reasoned or acted consequentially for four-and-twenty hours together. Some little passion or humour always breaks in upon their best resolutions. Their beauty neglected, or controverted, their age increased, or their supposed understandings depreciated, instantly kindles their little passions, and overturns any system of consequential conduct, that, in their most reasonable moments, they might have been capable of forming. A man of sense only trifles with them, plays with them, humours and flatters them, as he does with a sprightly, forward child ; but he neither consults them about, nor trusts them with, serious matters ; though he often makes them believe that he does both ; which is the thing in the world they are proud of ; for they love mightily to be dabbling in business (which, by the way, they always spoil ;) and being justly distrustful, that men in general look upon them in a trifling light, they almost adore



that man, who talks more seriously to them, and who seems to consult and trust them : I say, who seems ; for weak men really do, but wise ones only seem to do it. No flattery is either too high or too low for them. They will greedily swallow the highest, and gratefully accept of the lowest ; and you may safely flatter any woman, from her understanding, down to the exquisite taste of her fan. Women, who are either indisputably beautiful, or indisputably ugly, are best flattered upon the score of their understandings : but those who are in a state of mediocrity, are best flattered upon their beauty, or at least their graces ; for every woman, who is not absolutely ugly, thinks herself handsome ; but not hearing often that she is so, is the more grateful, and the more obliged to the few who tell her so : whereas a decided and conscious beauty looks upon every tribute, paid to her beauty, only as her due ; but wants to shine, and to be considered on the side of her understanding : and a woman, who is ugly enough to know that she is so, knows that she has nothing left for it but her understanding, which is, consequently (and probably in more senses than one) her weak side. But these are secrets, which you must keep

inviolably, if you would not, like Orpheus, be torn to pieces by the whole sex: on the contrary, a man, who thinks of living in the great world, must be gallant, polite, and attentive to please the women. They have, from the weakness of men, more or less influence in all courts: they absolutely stamp every man's character in the *beau monde*, and make it either current, or cry it down, and stop it in payments. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to manage, please, and flatter them; and never to discover the least marks of contempt, which is what they never forgive: but in this they are not singular, for it is the same with men; who will much sooner forgive an injustice than an insult. Every man is not ambitious, or covetous, or passionate; but every man has pride enough in his composition to feel and resent the least slight and contempt. Remember, therefore, most carefully to conceal your contempt, however just, wherever you would not make an implacable enemy. Men are much more unwilling to have their weaknesses and their imperfections known, than their crimes; and, if you hint to a man, that you think him silly, ignorant, or even ill-bred, or awkward, he will hate you more, and longer, than if you tell him, plainly, that you think him a rogue.

“ Never yield to that temptation, which, to most young men, is very strong, of exposing other people’s weaknesses and infirmities, for the sake either of diverting the company, or of showing your own superiority. You may get the laugh on your side by it, for the present ; but you will make enemies by it for ever ; and even those who laugh with you then, will, upon reflection, fear, and consequently hate you : besides that, it is ill-natured ; and that a good heart desires rather to conceal, than expose, other people’s weaknesses or misfortunes. If you have wit, use it to please, and not to hurt : you may shine, like the sun in the temperate zones, without scorching. Here it is wished for ; under the line it is dreaded.”

These reflections upon men and manners, lead his lordship into a more particular consideration of company, and the manner of behaving in it.

“ To keep good company,” — continues he, — “ especially at your first setting out, is the way to receive good impressions. If you ask me what I mean by good company, I will confess to you, that it is pretty difficult to define ; but I will endeavour to make you understand it as well as I can.

“ Good company, is not what respective sets of company are pleased either to call or think themselves ; but it is that company which all the people of the place call, and acknowledge to be, good company, notwithstanding some objections which they may form to some of the individuals who compose it. It consists chiefly (but by no means without exception) of people of considerable birth, rank, and character : for people of neither birth nor rank, are frequently, and very justly, admitted into it, if distinguished by any peculiar merit, or eminency in any liberal art or science. In this fashionable good company, the best manners, and the best language, of the place are most unquestionably to be learnt : for they establish, and give the tone to both ; which are therefore called the language and manners of good company, there being no legal tribunal to ascertain either.”

He prosecutes his subject thus, with great discernment and accuracy.

“ Having pointed out what sort of company you should keep, I will now give you some rules for your conduct in it ; rules which my own experience and observation enable me to lay down, and communicate to you, with some degree of confidence.

“ Talk

“ Talk often, but never long ; in that case, if you do not please, at least you are sure not to tire your hearers. Pay your own reckoning, but do not treat the whole company ; this being one of the very few cases in which people do not care to be treated, every one being fully convinced that he has wherewithal to pay.

“ Tell stories very seldom, and, absolutely, never but where they are very apt, and very short. Omit every circumstance that is not material, and beware of digressions. To have frequent recourse to narrative, betrays great want of imagination.

“ Never hold any body by the button, or the hand, in order to be heard out ; for, if people are not willing to hear you, you had much better hold your tongue than them.

“ Most long talkers single out some one unfortunate man in company (commonly him whom they observe to be the most silent) or their next neighbour, to whisper, or at least, in a half voice, to convey a continuity of words to. This is excessively ill-bred, and, in some degree, a fraud ; conversation-stock being a joint and common property. But, on the other hand, if one of these unmerciful talkers lays

hold of you, hear him with patience, (and at least seeming attention) if he is worth obliging ; for nothing will oblige him more than a patient hearing, as nothing would hurt him more, than either to leave him in the midst of his discourse, or to discover your impatience under your affliction.

“ Take, rather than give, the tone of the company you are in. If you have parts you will show them, more or less, upon every subject ; and if you have not, you had better talk fillily upon a subject of other people’s, than of your own chusing.

“ Avoid, as much as you can, in mixed companies, argumentative, polemical conversations ; which, though they should not, yet certainly do, indispose, for a time, the contending parties towards each other : and, if the controversy grows warm and noisy, endeavour to put an end to it, by some genteel levity or joke. I quieted such a conversation-hubbub once, by representing to them, that, though I was persuaded none there present would repeat, out of company, what passed in it, yet I could not answer for the discretion of the passengers in the street, who must necessarily hear all that was said.

“ Above



“ Above all things, and upon all occasions, avoid speaking of yourself, if it be possible. Such is the natural pride and vanity of our hearts, that it perpetually breaks out, even in people of the best parts, in all the various modes and figures of the egotism.

“ Take care never to seem dark and mysterious ; which is not only a very unamiable character, but a very suspicious one too : if you seem mysterious with others, they will be really so with you, and you will know nothing. The height of abilities is, to have *volto sciolto*, and *pensieri stretti* ; that is, a frank, open, and ingenuous exterior, with a prudent and reserved interior : to be upon your own guard, and yet, by a seeming natural openness, to put people off of theirs. Depend upon it, nine in ten of every company that you are in, will avail themselves of every indiscreet and unguarded expression of yours, if they can turn it to their own advantage. A prudent reserve is therefore as necessary, as a seeming openness is prudent. Always look people in the face when you speak to them ; the not doing it is thought to imply conscious guilt ; besides, that you lose the advantage of observing, by their countenances, what impression your discourse

course makes upon them. In order to know people's real sentiments, I trust much more to my eyes than to my ears; for they can say whatever they have a mind I should hear; but they can seldom help looking, what they have no intention that I should know.

“ Mimickry, which is the common and favourite amusement of little, low minds, is in the utmost contempt with great ones. It is the lowest and most illiberal of all buffoonery. Pray, neither practise it yourself, nor applaud it in others. Besides that, the person mimicked is insulted; and, as I have often observed to you before, an insult is never forgiven.

“ I need not (I believe) advise you to adapt your conversation to the people you are conversing with: for I suppose you would not, without this caution, have talked upon the same subject, and in the same manner, to a minister of state, a bishop, a philosopher, a captain, and a woman. A man of the world must, like theameleon, be able to take every different hue; which is by no means a criminal or abject, but a necessary complaisance, for it relates only to manners, and not to morals.”

To

To these reflections on company and conversation, his lordship adds an allegory, and an example, with which I shall conclude this chapter, and the second part of the System of Education.

“ Whatever I see, or whatever I hear,” says he, “ my first consideration is, whether it can, in any way, be useful to you. As a proof of this, I went accidentally, the other day, into a print-shop; where, among many others, I found one print from a famous design of Carlo Maratti, who died about thirty years ago, and was the last eminent painter in Europe: the subject is, *il Studio del Disegno*; or, the School of Drawing. An old man, supposed to be the master, points to his scholars, who are variously employed in perspective, geometry, and the observation of the statues of antiquity. With regard to perspective, of which there are some little specimens; he has wrote, *Tanto che basti*, that is, *As much as is sufficient*; with regard to geometry, *Tanto che basti* again; with regard to the contemplation of the ancient statues, there is written, *Non mai a bastanza*; *There never can be enough*. But, in the clouds, at top of the piece, are represented the three Graces; with this just sentence written over them, *Senza di noi ogni fatica è vana*; that is, *Without*

*us, all labour is vain.* This, every body allows to be true, in painting; but all people do not seem to consider, as I hope you will, that this truth is full as applicable to every other art or science; indeed to every thing that is to be said or done. I will send you the print itself; and I will advise you to make the same use of it, that the Roman Catholics say they do of the pictures and images of their saints; which is, only to remind them of those: for the adoration they disclaim. Nay, I will go farther, and, as the transition from popery to paganism is short and easy, I will classically and poetically advise you to invoke, and sacrifice to them every day, and all the day.

“ It must be owned, that the Graces do not seem to be natives of Great Britain; and, I doubt, the best of us, here, have more of the rough than the polished diamond. Since barbarism drove them out of Greece and Rome, they seem to have taken refuge in France, where their temples are numerous, and their worship the established one. Examine yourself seriously, why such and such people please and engage you, more than such and such others, of equal merit; and you will always find, that it is because the former have the graces, and the latter  
not.

not. I have known many a woman, with an exact shape, and a symmetrical assemblage of beautiful features, please nobody; while others, with very moderate shapes and features, have charmed everybody. Why? Because Venus will not charm so much, without her attendant graces, as they will without her. Among men, how often have I seen the most solid merit and knowledge neglected, unwelcome, or even rejected, for want of them? While flimsy parts, little knowledge, and less merit, introduced by the graces, have been received, cherished, and admired. Even virtue, which is moral beauty, wants some of its charms, if unaccompanied by them.

“Of all the men that ever I knew in my life, (and I knew him extremely well) the late duke of Marlborough possessed the graces in the highest degree; not to say engrossed them; and indeed he got the most by them; for I will venture (contrary to the custom of profound historians, who always assign deep causes for great events) to ascribe the better half of the duke of Marlborough’s greatness and riches to those graces. He was eminently illiterate; wrote bad English, and spelled it still worse. He had no share of what is commonly called *parts*; that is, he

he had no brightness, nothing shining in his genius. He had, most undoubtedly, an excellent good plain understanding, with sound judgment. But these, alone, would probably have raised him but something higher than they found him; which was page to king James the Second's queen. There the graces protected and promoted him; for, while he was an ensign of the guards, the dutchess of Cleveland, then favourite mistress to king Charles the II<sup>d</sup>, struck by those very graces, gave him five thousand pounds; with which he immediately bought an annuity for his life, of five hundred pounds a year, of my grandfather, Halifax; which was the foundation of his subsequent fortune. His figure was beautiful; but his manner was irresistible, by either man or woman. It was by this engaging, graceful manner, that he was enabled, during all his war, to connect the various and jarring powers of the grand alliance, and to carry them on to the main object of the war, notwithstanding their private and separate views, jealousies, and wrong-headednesses. Whatever court he went to, (and he was often obliged to go himself to some resty and refractory ones) he as constantly prevailed, and brought them into his measures. The Pensionary Hein-



sius, a venerable old minister, grown grey in business, and who had governed the Republic of the United Provinces for more than forty years, was absolutely governed by the duke of Marlborough, as that Republic feels to this day. He was always cool ; and nobody ever observed the least variation in his countenance : he could refuse more gracefully than other people could grant ; and those who went away from him the most dissatisfied, as to the substance of their business, were yet personally charmed with him, and, in some degree, comforted by his manner. With all his gentleness and gracefulness, no man living was more conscious of his situation, nor maintained his dignity better.

“ With the share of knowledge which you have already gotten, and with the much greater, which, I hope, you will soon acquire, what may you not expect to arrive at, if you join all these graces to it ? In your destination particularly [that of a foreign minister] they are, in truth, half your business ; for, if you can once gain the affections, as well as the esteem of the prince or minister of the court to which you are sent, I will answer for it, that will effectually do the business of the court that sent you ; otherwise,

wise, it is up-hill work.—Do not mistake, and think, that these graces, which I so often and so earnestly recommend to you, should only accompany important transactions, and be worn only *les jours de gala*: no; they should, if possible, accompany every, the least, thing that you do or say; for, if you neglect them in little things, they will leave you in great ones. I should, for instance, be extremely concerned to see you even drink a cup of coffee ungracefully, and stop yourself with it, by your awkward manner of holding it; nor should I like to see your coat buttoned, or your shoes buckled awry. But I should be outrageous, if I heard you mutter your words unintelligibly, stammer in your speech, or hesitate, misplace, and mistake in your narrations: and I should run away from you, with greater rapidity, if possible, than I should, now, run to embrace you, if I found you destitute of all those graces, which I have set my heart upon their making you one day, *omnibus ornatum excellere rebus.*"

END of VOL. I.











10  
11

